BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

A STUDY



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AN APPRECIATION *

by

SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Standing here and looking at this indomitable face of a warrior and a scholar, I feel moved and I think of the century of troubles that this country passed through. All the giants of old, laid the foundations of the freedom of India, and, above all, the Lokamanya. We have, to my right here, the picture of Dadabhai Naoroji, the father, in a sense, of the Indian National Congress. We may, perhaps, in our youthful arrogance, think that some of these leaders of old were very moderate and we are much braver because we shout more. But every person who can bring the picture of the old India before his eyes and the conditions that prevailed then, will realise, that a man like Dadabhai was, in those conditions, a revolutionary figure. If I say that of Dadabhai Naoroji, how much more have I to say about Lokamanya?

As I was sitting here, I thought that Lokamanya had attained a very advanced age—somehow I imagined so—because from my early boyhood we had heard of him, and throughout our youth we had heard of him, and been under his spell. So I thought that when he died,

*** From the address delivered by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, on the occasion of the ceremony of the unveiling of an oil-painting of Lokamanya Tilak, in the Central Hall of Parliament, New Delhi, on 28th July, 1956.**

he must have reached an advanced age. Then, when I calculated it, I was surprised to find, that at the time of his death, he was much younger than I am to-day, but in those crowded years of life, not too long-lived, he put in such tremendous energy, ability, strength and sacrifice, that it seems a very long life, because after all, time is not measured by the passing of years but by what one does, what one feels and what one achieves.

We have here, in Lokamanya, a symbol of India's struggle for freedom, and a man who was not only a brave soldier but a great captain, not a captain of an organised Government, but a captain of the unorganised masses of India, a captain who had to deal with India as it was in his day, that is to say, an India rather amorphous and not well organised, not even perhaps politically very conscious, although of course among the youth of those days there was the feeling of freedom. But still I take it, we were in those days mostly rather non-political, rather frustrated, if you like, and accepting our dismal fate as destiny. There was inertia, not in the minds of everyone but among most of our people, but to shake them up and to bring about a mass consciousness, mass awakening, a sense of struggle, was, I think, primarily Lokamanya's task.

The early founders of the National Congress were great men. But they rather laid the intellectual foundation in the early stages of our freedom movement. I do not think that it is unfair to them to say that they were not mass leaders in the sense that some subsequent great leaders became. I think that the first great mass leader of this new stage of our revolutionary movement was Lokamanya Tilak. After him came Gandhiji to effect

an even wider response because the mass consciousness was developed. It was inevitable that this national consciousness should develop, as Lokamanya affected, in his own generation, what may be called, broadly speaking, the middle-class and the lower middle-class and millions of these people. The next stage came when Gandhiji came and it spread to the villages. It spread in Gandhiji's time because the movement had been given this tremendous impetus by the Lokamanya.

Here we find a man of great learning, a great scholar of wide vision and ideas. He wrote about the Philosophy of the Gita and then about the Vedas. See, how his mind travelled long distances! He was not a mere politician but he shared the living in a country that was not free. It impelled a great scholar like him to throw his weight, energy and ability into the struggle for freedom. It is again rather an unusual thing for a great scholar of that type to become a mass leader. Normally, these things do not go together. They did go together in him. This chosen scholar of the elect became a mass leader, influenced more than one generation or two generations of our people powerfully. He influenced them not only in the sense of some kind of intellectual impulse towards freedom but made them more dynamic and made them also realise that it was through organised effort and sacrifice, that freedom would be obtained. In those early days, some young men in a spirit of anger and frustration took to the bomb and individual acts like that. Lokamanya saw that it was not the way of achieving success or strength in a country, that it was the way of despair and frustration. He raised his voice against it long before Gandhiji did in another context. He directed people's minds towards more mass effort and mass

struggle. Naturally, he was a great nationalist and he thought in terms of nationalism rather than the social movement of a subsequent day but he was not a narrow-minded nationalist. That is obvious. He did not think of a particular corner of India. He thought of the whole of India as his field of battle and as his field of achievement. So he laboured, in prison and out of prison, as many of us, humbler folk, in our much more limited spheres, laboured subsequently. It was easy for us because we were parts of a vast wave of human enthusiasm when it did not matter very much to the individual. We shared such physical sufferings or discomforts with hundreds and thousands. It was no suffering and it is quite absurd for anyone to condole this. We went to jail at least once, thrice or five times, because we were exhilarated by that experience and became, perhaps, a little higher in stature by it.

But it was an entirely different matter to be the one and only man to brave an Empire; to be a single person to emblazen the trail, not knowing who will follow, not knowing what will happen. That requires that supreme courage which only the greatest of people possess. Lokamanya blazed the trail in so many directions in this country, laid the foundations of our struggle and brought about, I repeat, for the first time this mass consciousness, political consciousness, this dynamic energy, because he was a tremendously dynamic person.

So there can be no fitter person whose picture should adorn this hall, which represents the achievement of that freedom and independence. I do not know subsequently what other portraits will be put up in this hall, but I think that there can be no two worthier

portraits than the two we have—Dadabhai Naoroji and Lokamanya—who have been for us in many ways, in my generation at any rate, sources of inspiration.

It was not my privilege to come into close contact with him. I met him but I was away in a far off country studying, but even there his voice, his story reached us —the young men from India who studied there—and fired our imagination which sometimes rather ran riot. When we grew up under that influence, we were moulded by it; and it was really, in a sense, the India of which the then youth had been prepared very largely by Tilak, by what he said, what he had written and, above all, what he had suffered, it was that which was the inheritance on which Gandhiji had to start his vast movements. If there had not been that moulding of Indian people, of India's imagination and India's youth by Lokamanya, it would not have been easy for the next major step to be taken.

So, in this historic perspective, we can see one great man after another coming and performing this act of Destiny and History which led to the achievement of India's freedom. Therefore, we meet here not only to unveil the picture of this great man and Father of India's Revolution, but to remember him and to be inspired by him.

PREFACE

Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak has been very aptly described as 'the Father of the Indian Revolution'. His departure from the traditional ways of political work of his days was radical, right from the commencement of his career. His first few years were devoted to the ruthless exposure of the errors of the Bureaucracy in its day-to-day administration, through the columns of the *Kesari.* The journalist soon grew into an agitator, educator and organiser, and, for the first time, the people of Maharashtra realised the emergence of a new leader who would sponsor the people's cause without fear or favour. Tilak succeeded in shaking the prestige of the bureaucracy in the course of a few years and his first conviction and imprisonment for sedition brought him on the horizon of all-India leadership. It was the Swadeshi movement, however, that evoked the best from him. He coordinated and mobilised all available forces of advanced Nationalism, gave the people a foretaste of the ideal of independence and shaped the national restlessness into an organised effort for resistance to the Bureaucracy on as wide a front as possible. This effort brought on him a six years' imprisonment, which, the Bureaucracy must have thought, would finish his career. But he falsified their unholy expectations and after his release, though advanced in age and in indifferent health, he organised the Great Home Rule campaign which brought India to the first steps of Swaraj.

When he began his political work in the nineties of the last century, to think in terms of practical realisation of responsible Government would have been considered moonshine and thirty years later, before his epoch closed, Self-government or *Swaraj* was on the way to reality. Amongst those that directed the National Movement during those eventful years—and many were such illustrious leaders—Lokamanya Tilak will occupy the place of pride. What distinguished Tilak, however, in the earlier years, from his distinguished contemporaries who were wedded to the school of Moderation, was, that he was the first to see clearly that political rights could not be won without a struggle. He had to work for years to convert public opinion to this view. His only weapon was his pen. Realising the fact that he was in a very small minority, he resolved from the first, in his attack on the citadel of the Bureaucracy, to pitch his camp on safe ground, and so he took care not to hurt, as far as possible, the law as it existed. His strategy was to hit at the prestige of the Bureaucracy by exposure of their misdoings and to strengthen the people by educating them in respect of their legitimate rights. By long and persistent efforts and by a life of rare sacrifice and courage, he converted public opinion completely to his views and at the close of his career, he could well be described, without exaggeration, that he was a Tribune of the People, a real *Lokamanya.*

Though, at the beginning, he started almost all alone in his crusade of advanced nationalism, as time passed on, other people and leaders came up and allied themselves with him. There were differences in shades of views and methods, but Tilak showed a singular adaptability in dealing with men and situations. What

mattered to him was the Cause, not so much his own leadership. And never in his work did he display any partiality based on considerations of language, region or religion. In consequence he counted among his colleagues and followers people of all denominations and creeds, from all parts of the country.

The Lokamanya did not display any religiosity in his daily routine, but he had an abiding faith in an ultimate Power guiding the destiny of man. He believed in the adequacy of Hindu Philosophy and Ethics, in satisfying the spiritual needs of man in his effort to achieve Self-fulfilment. But he was never in any sense a communalist and he never allowed religion to trespass on politics. He was completely secular in his outlook.

In his writings and speeches, Tilak primarily appealed to Reason, but his rationalism was always steeped in the fervour of patriotism. This gave a peculiar power to his writings and speeches, though neither displayed any rhetorical effort. His utterances and actions stirred men deeply and to lasting effect. He knew how to completely identify himself with the People. The people had, in turn, boundless affection for him. His career did not know any ups and downs, but showed always an upward curve. He was easy of access to all alike. Whether it be a colleague seeking counsel, or a worker seeking guidance, a scholar seeking exchange of views or a young man seeking advice about his choice of a career, an illiterate peasant wishing aid in drafting a memorial, or a mere student only seeking *Darshan,* Tilak's doors were open to all without reserve.

Tilak not only worked for the present but he foresaw the future with remarkable clarity. Even in

those early days, he visualised a Constituent Assembly and adult suffrage, nationalisation of key industries and minimum wages, Prohibition and the division of India on Linguistic basis.

A study of the career of such an epoch-making personality is not only inspiring but also educative. The present essay is an attempt towards such a study, primarily based on his original writings in Marathi and original Confidential records of the then Government of India. It seeks to present, in broad perspective, the outlines of his career, the problems which confronted him from time to time, his methods of organising public opinion in the struggle with what was perhaps the most powerful Bureaucracy in the world, and the ultimate success which attended his efforts. The best way, I thought, was to bring the Subject of the study, face to face with the reader, by copious extracts from his writings which express his viewpoint far better than any commentary, however gifted, could do. In the course of the narration of events, the reader, it is hoped, will catch adequate glimpses of the MAN himself. The Lokamanya was so much part of the time in which he lived, that you cannot deal with his life without giving an adequate picture of the contemporary national life. From that point of view this brochure has naturally taken the shape of a review of the history of the Struggle for our Freedom, for the forty years making up the Lokamanya's career, with him in the foreground.

I am much indebted, in this study, to the literature already published about Lokamanya's life; especially to the monumental biography of the Lokamanya by the late Shri N. C. Kelkar, who was his collaborator and

colleague for more than two decades, the collection of Lokamanya's original articles in the *Kesari* and volumes containing the Anecdotes and Reminiscences of the Lokamanya, published under the auspices of the Kesari Office. I have tried to utilise all available material about his life and times to make this study as well-based as possible. In fact, if I might say so in all humility and without any sense of egotism, the study has been the result of accumulated impressions and reading in the course of many years—my first acquaintance with the Tilak literature having commenced at the age of fourteen, when I first read, of course not with full comprehension, the proceedings of the Tilak Trial of 1908. To us, workers in the ranks of our National struggle for freedom, the life and writings of the Lokamanya have always been an unfailing source of inspiration and strength.

I am deeply grateful to our beloved Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, for having permitted me to include, the text of his address delivered on the occasion of unveiling Lokamanya Tilak's portrait in the Central Hall of Parliament, as a Foreword, as, at the present time, he is far too busy to write one specially for this book. The reader will find that the speech adequately and eloquently brings out the essence of Lokamanya's life.

My sincere thanks are due to the Government of India in the Ministry of Home Affairs for permission to examine and make use of Confidential Government Documents; to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha for permission to use the text of the Speech by the Prime Minister on the occasion of the unveiling Lokamanya's

oil-painting in the Central Hall of Parliament and to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting for permission to reproduce a photograph taken on the occasion; to Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose, M.P., and Shri K. Ramamurthy, Journalist, for sustained interest in this effort and helpful guidance and suggestions; to Shri T. R. Deogirikar, M.P., and Shri J. S. Tilak, Editor, *Kesari*, for making available some rare books; to Dr. B. A. Saletore, Director of National Archives of the Government of India, for readily making available the documents in the Archives and greatly facilitating my work by selecting material for me; to Shri R. V. Jathar, my Private Secretary, and my Personal Assistants, Shri M. D. Joshi and Shri N. C. Das Gupta, for their assistance in the preparation of the manuscript and correction of the proof-sheets; to my son, Aravind, for the lively interest he has taken in this work and for having helped me in sundry ways.

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New Delhi
23rd August, 1956

D. P. K.

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS



LOKAMANYA TILAK, 1918

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK—A STUDY

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

Bal Gangadhar Tilak was born on the 23rd July 1856 at Ratnagiri, a district town on the West Coast. He was by caste a Chitpavan Brahmin. His great grand-father Keshavrao was born in 1778 and was described as being skilful in riding, expert in shooting, good at swimming and cooking. He became a Mamlatdar under the Peshwas but resigned his job after their fall. Tilak's grand-father Ramchandrapant secured service in the Survey Department and Tilak's father Gangadharpant finished his Marathi education in Dabhol and came to Ratnagiri for further studies in an English school, but soon thereafter, in 1837, he lost his mother, and his father went to Banaras and adopted Sannyas. Gangadharpant therefore, had to discontinue his studies and accept a job of a Primary School Teacher on Rs. 10. He served at Malvan and Chiplun. He was advanced in studies in Sanskrit and Mathematics and, therefore, was better known as Gangadhar Shastri. He was a great friend of the great *savant* Bhandarkar. He was later promoted as an Assistant Deputy Inspector. He supplemented his salary by writing school textbooks like the History of England, Arithmetic and Marathi grammar etc. He thus belonged to what might be called the middle class. The family had *khoti* (some type of *Inamdari*) rights and some land but the income from this source was very meagre. Gangadhar Shastri made a will for an amount of Rs. 8,297; one-third of

this he bequeathed to his brother, who, after his demise in 1872, looked after his son and the residuary two-third to his son. But more than any earthly things, Tilak inherited something more precious from his father —a strong determination and will, a clean and healthy mind, a capacity for industry and achievement, and a way of methodical work.

Little Bal was put to school when he was five on the auspicious day of the Dussera. The Upanayana ceremony was performed when he was eight and by that time he had finished the elements of Sanskrit and Arithmetic and an initiation in the daily rituals. Gangadharpant came to Poona as Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector and thus his son had an easy means of advanced education. Poona was a known centre of learning. Under the careful guidance of a learned father, Bal had already finished a substantial portion of arithmetic and algebra and part of Euclid. His studies in Sanskrit were so advanced that even during his tenth year, he could analyse a Sanskrit verse by himsellf. But unhappily Bal had to suffer from the untimely demise of his parents. He lost his mother in his tenth year and his father in his sixteenth. Thereafter his uncle looked after him. Uncle and nephew continued in cordial relationship and Tilak gifted away the amount bequeathed to him by his father to his uncle and the small landed property in a village was constituted for the upkeep of his family Gods.

Tilak's secondary education commenced in the City School. Tilak was somewhat of a peculiar student, intelligent but wilful. If the teacher asked him to solve an example on his slate, he would straightaway do it orally. If he were asked to bring a note-book, he would question

why it was necessary. Tilak joined the Poona High School for the fifth standard. Even at that time Tilak chose all the most difficult examples for solution ignoring the easier ones in the examination papers. His Sanskrit was developing and even during his school days he used to compose Sanskrit verses. Tilak's marriage took place when he was in his 15th year. His father died soon after.

After passing the Matriculation he joined the Deccan College. Some reminiscences of his life in the college have been recorded by his contemporaries.[1] This college was situated on the banks of the Mula-mutha river in nice sylvan surroundings three miles outside Poona City. It was an environment breathing freedom. Those of the students that were inclined towards easy life enjoyed themselves much to the deterioration of their studies, but to those who wanted to build a healthy body and a healthy mind, there were immense opportunities. One of the first things that Tilak did after joining the college was to improve his health. From the time he became a resident student, he applied himself assiduously to the development of his body by devoting some hours everyday to gymnasium. In the morning he used to go to the gymnasium room where he had *Mal-khamb*, *Jor*, *Jodi*, and *Kusti* and after his exercise, he used to take a large draught of fresh milk. He also practised on the horizontal bars in the evenings. He learnt swimming and by practice became a good swimmer.

1. (1) Moreshwar Krishna Sharangapani, in *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Lokamanya Tilak* (Marathi) compiled by S. V. Bapat, Vol. II, pp. 272-276; (2) Manohar Vishnu Kathavate, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 41-43; (3) Krishnarao Sharangapani, *Ibid.*; Vol. II, pp. 609-617 (in English); (4) S. B. Upasani, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 449.

He thus equipped himself with a sturdy physique which stood him in good stead during later years. There was a college boat club and he enjoyed the vigorous exercise of rowing in the river. His companion in gymnastics was Daji Abaji Khare who later distinguished himself as an able High Court Advocate at Bombay. Khare and Tilak sometimes differed in their opinions but their friendship which commenced when in College continued throughout life. Their gymnastics found a reflection in the messing club where both of them did full justice to themselves and to the sumptuous food that was served to them, so much so that there were reports that their cook used to complain sometimes when he had to declare bankruptcy in the wheat cakes that he had prepared.

Tilak had taken up Mathematics as one of his voluntary subjects and studied that subject under the well-known Professor, Keropant Chhatre, who "was reputed for his plain dress, simplicity and love for the students." Tilak attracted his attention and was one of his favourite students. But one of the results of his having devoted himself to the gymnasium during his first year resulted in his failure at the F. A. Examination. In fact, when he was quietly disappearing after recording his attendance from a lecture, a Professor asked him why he was going and Tilak replied, "I do not propose to appear for the examination this year and I am simply filling in the term".

Tilak's name appears as a junior scholar during 1874 and 1875. He did not however belong to that category of students who went on studying during the whole year. He would commence his studies seriously when the examinations were near; his study was selective and inten-

sive. He would not remain content with the reading of textbooks of the college, but he would gather all the required information about the subject that he had been studying. He was not a very early riser but studied late into the night. At a late hour in the night he would go out and disturb his companions. He would particularly tease those who were a little dandyish. He was of very simple habits and excepting eating betelnuts he had no other habit. Sharangapani, one of his contemporaries, says:

"His dress was as simple as even it was later. He wore a large round red turban with no lace and a long coat and a shirt inside and carried an *angawastra* with him with Dakshini shoes on his feet. Virtually there was no change in his dress from the time we saw him at the college till he expired. He wore however a special *sadra* (shirt) with buttons on the shoulders which kept it tied on the chest and this he used at the time when he was taking bar exercises. At times he did not wear a shirt in private hours of study but was to be found in his dhoti with his bare body and an *angawastra*. He wore almost the same type of plain dress during his whole life."

Tilak's way of life in college was of the orthodox type. He used to sit for meals with a silk dhoti as was common amongst the orthodox and his outlook in social matters also was more conservative than liberal. He was frank and outspoken in his discussions and he was nicknamed 'Blunt', after a character of that name in 'Kenilworth', which was one of the textbooks of that time.

CHAPTER II

INDIA BEFORE TILAK

(i) *Dawn of Indian Renaissance*

Tilak began his public career in 1880. But it was a long time before that the ferment, of which the struggle for freedom which was the mission of his life was a part, began in the early days of the advent of British rule in India. Raja Ram Mohan Roy has been on all hands acknowledged as the pioneer of Indian renaissance[1] in the 19th century. Born in a middle class family and educated in Persian and Sanskrit in his early years, Ram Mohan Roy rejected idol worship which had been part and parcel of Hinduism. He served under the East India Company for about twelve years but spent the major part of his life in the propagation of social and religious reforms. Having rejected idol worship, he turned to the older religious texts for evolving a system of pure monotheism. He translated the Vedanta Sutra of Shankaracharya as early as 1815 and the main Upanishads—*Kena, Isha, Mandukya, Katha* into English and Bengali. He founded an *Atmiya Sabha* for the spiritual improvement of its members of whom Dwarakanath was amongst the first. The *Sabha* was against all worship of idols and in the weekly meetings of the *Sabha* were sung songs of his

1. For a succinct and illuminating treatment of the various reform movements the reader is referred to Ganguly: *Raja Ram Mohan Roy* and *The Rise and Growth of the Congress* by C. F. Andrews and Girija Mukerji: Part I.

own composition and discussions of ancient philosophy texts held. He carried on a campaign against the practice of *Sati* which eventually was abolished when Bentinck was the Governor-General. He disapproved of child marriages, polygamy, and the caste system, and supported the cause of women's rights to property. He was a voluminous writer and carried on an indefatigable fight against Hindu orthodoxy on the one hand and Christian missionaries on the other. He started the Brahmo Samaj in 1828. He was a patriot of a very high order and though he knew that during his life time he could do nothing for the cause of political freedom, he visualised a day when India would be independent and be an equal partner with Britain. An anecdote says that when he passed the Cape of Comorin on his journey to England where he went to present the case of the Moghul Emperor, he saluted the flag of the Revolution flying from a French ship and so great was his love of freedom that if the Reform Bill that was on the anvil of Parliament when he was in England in 1832 failed, he would rather go and settle down in the free United States of America than come back to India. Ram Mohan Roy's teachings left a deep mark on the thinking minds of Bengal and the Brahmo Samaj continued its work vigorously under various leaders, prominent among whom was Keshab Chandra Sen, another ardent lover of freedom of thought and action. In fact it was he who demonstrated the great possibilities of the public platform by his passionate orations. He propagated with great zeal the gospel of personal freedom and social equality and fought Christian missionaries who were busy with proselytarian activities. Though the Brahmo Samaj lost a large amount of its influence in the last quarter of the 19th century, there

is no doubt that it created a healthy ferment amongst the educated Bengalees.

A similar reform movement was initiated about the middle of the 19th century in Bombay and an institution known as Prarthana Samaj was started on the same lines as the Brahmo Samaj on the occasion of Keshab Chandra Sen's visit to Bombay in 1851. Stalwarts like Ranade and Bhandarkar promoted the cause of that institution. But at no time did it develop the same influence as the movement developed in Bengal, perhaps on account of very strong conservative elements in Bombay and Maharashtra.

As noted above, along with religious reforms, Ram Mohan Roy initiated a programme of social reform. The main planks of that programme were—disapproval of child marriages, the promotion of widow re-marriages, rejection of the caste system, promotion of property rights for Hindu women, eradication of untouchability etc. This programme evoked opposition from orthodox sections both in Bengal and in Bombay. As a reaction to the reform movements, the orthodox sections tried to consolidate themselves.

Another reformist movement of this time which deserves notice is the one that was started by Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-83). He was, like Ram Mohan Roy, an opponent of idol worship. He turned to the Vedas for inspiration and guidance instead of to the Vedanta and affirmed that the caste system and child marriages had no sanction in the early Indian scriptures. However, he "accepted the permanent existence of the four castes and ordained the sacred thread for the three

superior castes" but "opposed child marriage and encouraged widow re-marriage." He toured different parts of the country before conceiving the idea of founding the Arya Samaj in 1875. The Arya Samaj under his inspiration attracted the masses and developed into a dynamic force in Northern India. Later on it split itself up into two schools, the one composed of those of the Gurukula Cult which believed in the ancient Ashramic traditions of education, and the others who sought a co-ordination with western culture through suitable educational institutions. Swami Shraddhanand and Lala Lajpat Rai were the leaders of the two respective schools of thoughts. The activities of the Arya Samaj also promoted the cause of nationalism and both the above mentioned veterans played a very signal part in the later phases of India's struggle for freedom.

The advent of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa in Bengal led to the revival of enthusiasm for the traditional way of thinking. Though a simple village priest,

> "the entire middle class western educated Bengalee community made him their national hero. He attracted the respect of stalwarts like Keshab Chandra Sen and great litterateurs like Bankim Chandra and Girish Chandra Ghose. Shri Ramakrishna inspired a whole generation. He popularised Monistic Vedanta and Indian mysticism of the Bhakti school. The movement which Ramakrishna thus set in motion is important because he justified the claim of Hindus that God can be worshipped and realised by following the traditional methods of India which the Christian missionaries had characterised as superstitious. This fact gave the rising national consciousness, a weapon with which to fight the West. Indians could now claim that their religion was good enough for them. Since they did not want any other religion, they were capable of looking after them-

selves. In the same way, politically they were quite capable of governing themselves without foreign interference".[2]

The Ramakrishna Movement also called upon young men to devote themselves to social service. After his death (1886) his disciple Vivekananda who combined great dynamism with an intense nationalism exercised a fascinating influence over the younger generation. He overwhelmed the World Religions' Congress at Chicago (1893) by his eloquence and his lectures on Indian Philosophy and Religion made an abiding impression on his listeners. Though religion was his mission in life, he took a keen interest in the national affairs of the country and called upon his countrymen to rise from their stupor and achieve greatness in all parts of national life. After him the Ramakrishna Mission has continued its work of the propagation of Vedantism and of social service. A little later came the Theosophic movement based on the inspiration of Indian philosophy and traditions and developed under the able leadership of Mrs. Annie Besant, who was destined to take a very prominent part in the Home Rule Movement in the first quarter of the 20th century.

There can be no doubt that these religious and cultural movements had a singular share in rousing the national consciousness of the people. While some of them differed from the accepted tenets of orthodox Hinduism and deprecated some of its social practices, they were all inspired by zeal to promote what they considered

2. Andrews and Mukerji: *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

the best aspect of the Hindu tradition and culture and helped to build up a healthy national consciousness. That consciousness was a little late in coming. But when it came it brought together within its fold both the orthodox and the reformist sections. Surendra Nath and Tilak for instance, were relatively orthodox in their way of religious and social thinking, whereas Pal and Lajpat Rai, Ranade and Gokhale belonged to a class of ardent reformers.

(ii) *Beginnings of Political Organisations*

Simultaneously with the various reform movements referred to above, educated India was voicing its aspirations for a legitimate share in the government of the country gradually through years prior to 1880. Organisational life takes a long time to develop but the inequality of the treatment given to the Indians in contrast with the Europeans, the want of opportunities for Indians to participate in the administration of the country, the unjust treatment meted out to them, in many cases, the growing consciousness of the slow impoverishment of the country led people to think furiously about their conditions and to ask for a relief from such disabilities.

Dadabhai Naoroji, the unfailing guardian angel of India of that time, who began his career of self-less service in the cause of India at a time when no organised effort could even be contemplated both in India and in England, duly invited attention of the powers that be to the various inequities which the Indians were suffering under the British rule. Slowly as occasion demanded organisations came into being. The Zamindari Asso-

ciation in Bengal had already been started in 1837 to preserve the interests of Zamindars. It was intended to embrace peoples of all descriptions without reference to caste, country or complexion, rejecting all exclusiveness and to be based on the most universal and liberal principles.[3] In 1843 The Bengal and British India Society was started in Calcutta with the object of:

"the collection and dissemination of information relating to actual conditions of the people of British India and the laws and instructions and resources of the country and to employ such other means of peaceable and lawful character as may appear calculated to secure the welfare, extend just rights and advance the interests of all classes and fellow subjects."

It was made clear that the institution was wedded to loyalty to the Sovereign of the British dominions and would discountenance any subversive efforts. These organisations were open to Englishmen until the introduction of a Bill by the Law Member of the Government of India with the object of removing the anomalous provisions existing in the law of the country by which an Englishman committing an offence in the distant part of the country could not be tried at the place where it was committed. The English community naturally agitated against this Bill and they succeeded in thwarting the measure. As a result the British Indian Association was started in 1851 which was not open to Englishmen. This Association in a memorial to Parliament in 1852 in respect of the East India Company Charter coming up for renewal in 1853, urged "the relaxation

3. Andrews and Mukerji; *Ibid.*, p. 98.

of the pressure of the revenue system; the improvement of judicial administration, the protection of the life and prosperity of the people from molestation; relief from the monopolies of the East India Company; encouragement of indigenous manufactures; education of the people and the admission of Indians to the higher administrative services." They also suggested the inclusion of Indian representatives in the central Legislature. Branches of this Association were also started in Madras and Oudh. In a sense it was the first of Indian Associations constituted for political purposes. But after 1858 the catholic outlook of the Association gave way to a narrow effort to identify itself more and more with the interests of the landed aristocracy. An attempt was made by Sisir Kumar Ghose, the founder of *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, to lower its subscriptions but had failed. So Sisir Kumar Ghose and his brother Motilal Ghose established the Indian League in 1875 but somehow it did not make headway and the Indian Association founded by Surendra Nath in the same year became the mouthpiece of educated India.

(iii) *Birth of Indian Nationalism*

In the history of every subject nation, there come moments for its people under the pressure of accumulated wrongs a sudden and intense impulse for shaking off their shackles and making themselves free. One such moment came to India in 1857 when on the 10th of May the Indian troops at Meerut revolted against their British masters and started a conflagration which threatened the destruction of British rule in India. For

more than a year and a half, the British had to battle against these revolting forces. Hundreds of thousands of Indians lost their lives during this struggle and tens of thousands were hung and killed after the flames of that conflagration were extinguished. With a view to pacify the people, amongst other things the Queen declared in the famous Proclamation of 1858, that:

> "it is our further will that, so far as may be our subjects of whatever race and creed be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability with credit duly to discharge. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

But in actual experience the words which were spoken to the ears were broken to the hearts. In fact one of the reactionary Viceroys later on declared that the Proclamation was never meant to be implemented. Inequalities continued between the rulers and the ruled who had neither any voice in the administration nor any entrance to the higher administrative services. There was differential treatment in the courts of law and an Indian Magistrate could not try an European accused. Righteous minded Englishmen like Fawcett, Bright and Bradlaw tried to convince the Parliament of these inequities, but to no use. But even the darkest night has an end and the first streaks of dawn were visible on the Indian horizon in the middle of the seventies. B. C. Pal in his memoirs[4] has mentioned the first harbingers of this aus-

4. B. C. Pal: *Memories of my Life and Times,* Calcutta 1932: In chapters XI and XII, pp. 226-258.

picious dawn. He marks down the period 1875 to 1878 as having seen the birth of our new nationalism. It was in that year that Surendra Nath Banerjea began his public activities. His lectures on Joseph Mazini's life had an inspiring effect upon his listeners. The Students' Association founded by Suren Babu was an organisation pulsating with the new life. Bipin Babu writes of some secret societies yearning for freedom having sprung up at that time. It was during that period that Bankim Chandra wrote his famous novel, *Anand Math.* The traditional *Yatras* resounded with songs which heralded the birth of a new nation. The new bards moaned the pitiable condition of the mother-land:

> "How long will it take, Oh! Bharat to swim across this ocean of misery;
> Sinking, Sinking, in depression will thou enter the eastern region for a while;
> Having gladly offered thy jewels to the stranger thou carriest now only an iron chain on thy breast;
> There are rows of light in the cities (owned by the strangers)
> But thou art in darkness of the same."[5]

5. कत काल परे बल भारत रे,
दुःख सागर सांतारे पार हवे ?
अवसाद हिमे डुविये डुविये
ओकि शेष निवेश रसातल रे ?
पर हाते दिये धन रत्न सुखे,
वट लौट-विनिर्मित हार बुके
पर दीपमाला नगरे नगरे
तुमि ये तिमिरे, तुमि से तिमिरे ।

Govind Chandra Roy who wrote this song bemoaned thus in another:

> "Oh! India, gloomy is thy face, beautiful as that was as the moon,
> Day and night tears flow from thy eyes."[6]

These passionate outpourings from patriotic hearts were the outward expressions of the feelings that were simmering within. The same spirit was visible in the political dramas of the period. *Nila Darpan* was the first political drama in Bengal.

> "It presented the story of indigo planters in Nadia and the unspeakable tyrannies on the peasants by the English indigo factories. When it was opened on the stage of new Bengali theatres, the audience got wild with passions against the white planters."

The regulations bringing down the age of civil service examination from 23 to 19 years, thus practically shutting out all Indians from admission, greatly provoked widespread discontent, and after a huge representative protest meeting in the Calcutta Town Hall, Surendra Nath toured North India and addressed meetings at different places from Benaras to Rawalpindi. Next year again he undertook another tour through Western and Southern India visiting Bombay, Ahmedabad, Poona and Madras. As a result of this campaign, Lal Mohan Ghose went to England in a representative capacity and made such a powerful plea that the next day the decision to create a separate Statutory Civil Service in India was

6. " मलिन मुखचन्द्रमा भारत तोमारि
रात्रि दिवा पड़िछे लोचन वारि "

announced. During Lytton's Viceroyalty the two reactionary measures, the Vernacular Press Act and the Arms Act, the one gagging the Indian Language Press and the other depriving Indians of use of arms were deeply resented by the people and the repeal of the former by the liberal-minded Ripon gave immense relief to the people. Ripon wanted to remove the inequality of the Europeans and Indians before the law but such an uproar was raised against the measure by the European residents, that the Bill had to be withdrawn. That further made the people think seriously about setting up of an All India Organisation and under the auspices of the Indian Association a National Conference with almost the same programme later formulated by the First Congress was held in Calcutta in 1883. Thus the ground was prepared for the establishment of the Indian National Congress under whose banner the struggle for freedom was fought and won.

(iv) *The Public Press*[7]

The Indian public press has actively participated in the discussion of current topics in all phases of the national movement, but it was naturally slow in coming. The first newspaper since the advent of the British rule in India was the *Bengal Gazette* (1780) followed by the *Calcutta Gazette* (1784), *Madras Gazette* (1795), the *Friend of India* (1820), the *Englishman* (1833), the *Bombay Times* (1838) and *Bombay Guardian* (1850). These were all papers published in English by Englishmen. The

7. A good treatment of this subject is to be found in the *History of Indian Journalism* (1955) by J. Natarajan (being Part II of the Report of the Press Commission).

principal controversies prior to 1857 took place between the East India Company's administration on the one hand and independent journalists on the other. One Buckingham was deported for writing strong criticism against the administration of his time.

The first Indian Anglo-Marathi paper published in Poona was the *Dnyana Prakash* (1849). Bengal has had a great tradition in this field. The *Hindu Patriot* was founded by Girish Chandra Ghose as early as 1853; it was taken over later (1861) by Visto Das Pal. The *Indian Mirror* (1861), the *Bengali* (1868) were the prominent Indian newspapers of the post-1857 period. It was Sisir Kumar Ghose, whom Tilak claimed as his Guru, and his brother, Moti Lal Ghose, that founded *Amrit Bazar Patrika* (1860) and even in its early days Dwaraka Nath Misra, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court had occasion to tell Sisir Babu, "I am afraid you are writing such virulence which may afterwards spread discontent and disaffection in the country". Sisir Babu's reply was that "the *Patrika* had been started to awaken the people to their abject condition and infusing in them a sense of patriotism." "They are now more dead than alive", he contended, "and need to be aroused from their slumber. Our language has therefore to be loud and penetrating." Among others, the *Patrika* which originally appeared in Bengali was changed to English on the passing of the Vernacular Press Act (1878), continued to hold a high place in the propagation of Indian nationalism. Of Sisir Babu Tilak once said:

"I had learnt many lessons sitting at his feet. I revered him as my father and I venture again to say that he in return loved me as his son. I have distinct recol-

lections of what he told me of his experience as a journalist with tears in his eyes and sympathy in his heart .. I may further tell you that when we started our paper in the vernacular we tried to follow the trait of the *Amrit Bazar Patrika*. That was a time when one had to teach the people how to criticise the bureaucracy and at the same time keep oneself safe, bodily at least, if not pecuniarily. That was the idea fully developed by Sisir Kumar in those days of Journalism."

Amongst the other papers started about this time may be mentioned the *Times of India* in Bombay, incorporating four earlier papers, the *Pioneer* of Allahabad, the *Civil and Military Gazette* in Lahore and the *Statesman* in Calcutta—all these represented the Anglo-Indian point of view. The *Hindu* of Madras, the first great paper with an Indian outlook in South India, which has maintained a high standard of journalism and objective thinking during the whole of its career, and the *Tribune* of Lahore which had also a distinguished career also appeared about this time. The *Kesari* and *Mahratta* which will be noticed in detail later, were the first vigorous exponents of the public point of view in Maharashtra. The *Kesari* specially marked a new type of journalism, written both for the classes and the masses and maintained a high standard for the quality of its views and for the vigour of its presentation.

CHAPTER III

MAHARASHTRA BEFORE TILAK

(i) *National Deterioration*

The evolution of public life in Maharashtra after the advent of British rule in 1818 discloses more or less the same characteristics as in other parts of India—first the spread of English education, next the urge for social reform, and lastly an intense desire for administrative and political reforms culminating in the struggle for freedom. Elphinstone, the first Governor of Bombay, took the first step towards the establishment of the English system of education in the Presidency. The amount of *dakshina* that the Peshwas used to spend for rewarding learned Brahmins was ear-marked for the building up of a Sanskrit College in Poona. Only Sanskrit was taught in the College till 1837 when English was introduced and later on this institution grew into the Deccan College in 1857 and it was brought under the Bombay University in 1860.

In the course of a written speech on the life of Chiplunkar (1901)[1] Tilak dealt with the conditions of public life in Maharashtra in the years succeeding the introduction of English education. Under that system there was no provision for moral or religious education and therefore, the first products suffered from serious deterioration. The earliest amongst the educated lost all sense of traditional restraints and they became puffed up with

1. The *Kesari*, March 19 and April 2, 1901.

well-paid jobs which they could easily find. The sense of patriotism, of respect and loyalty to the Society and taste for good behaviour as are developed in free countries was also not there. Therefore, it was that:

"The first products from these factories thought themselves to be learned and began to look contemptuously at past traditions. The first generation did not even completely finish their English education. The only prominent exception being Gopal Hari Deshmukh known popularly as *Loka Hitavadi*."

Speaking of this period a well-known Bombay leader once said to Tilak:

"They have made vice fashionable in Poona."

Tilak was of opinion:

"That the introduction of the modern system of education in Maharashtra resulted in tearing to shreds the intimate relationship between learning, morality, religion, well-ordered behaviour and family life which is so essential for the progress of a nation; there was thus complete absence of the virtues which are essential to build healthy leadership in society—an unswerving loyalty to ideals, a high standard of morality, self-sacrifice and a sincere desire to serve society."

Some of the leaders of that period were no doubt learned, but they forgot that, more than learning, a leader needs to have a clean life and faith in religious ideals and sacrifice. There was also no serious effort at trying to analyse the various aspects of national life; there was no serious thought on the various national problems.

"Whether the British rule has resulted in good or bad to the country, whether the means of livelihood are expanding or contracting, how far there were possibilities of the people developing institutional methods of work, and whether there is scope under the British ad-

ministration for a person to find fulfilment for his powers and capacities was none of their concern."

The only problem that worried them was an anxiety for social and religious reforms. But even their effort in that direction was devoid of seriousness. That was Tilak's analysis which is borne out by historical facts.

(ii) *Some Leading Personalities*

It is obvious that after the downfall of the Peshwas and deterioration in the condition and influence of both the Indian princes and the representatives of the families of the old nobility, the main burden of leadership in the society had to fall upon the educated leaders of the community.[2] Jyotiba Phule (born 1872) was a pioneer in the cause of social reform. He started a Marathi school (1848) for the Marathas where girls also were admitted. He opened an orphanage at Pandharpur. He founded (1873) the Satyasodhak Samaj whose object was to spread education among the non-Brahmins and free themselves from the religious hold of the Brahmin community. He was against casteism and he wrote a number of books in Marathi for propagation of his ideals. He started a paper "*Dinbandhu*" (1871) for advocating the cause of the public life of the backward classes.

That his views in politics were liberal is obvious from the fact that he and other non-Brahmin leaders heartily participated in a welcome to Tilak and Agarkar after their release from prison (1882). Jyotiba died in 1870. During his life time Chiplunkar severely criticised some of his views, being himself of an orthodox outlook.

2. A vivid picture of the time is to be found in N. C. Kelkar's *Biography of Tilak*, Vol. I, pp. 51-97 (Marathi).

A typical personality of that period was Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh who wrote under the *nom de plume* of "Lokahitwadi". He was not very highly educated, but his thirst for knowledge was boundless. He was in Government service, but his main contribution was the effort that he made to educate the people on different topics. He was not an accomplished writer but he made detailed notes on many subjects and he published them. It was something new to the people and he attracted attention. He was of opinion that the people of his time were very much uninformed and a healthy change must take place in the people's understanding and their social customs. He resisted the proselytising attempts of the Christian Missionaries. Chiplunkar, who many a time criticised him severely, appreciated his service to the country thus:

"It is now about 40 years that "Lokahitvadi" has been working for the good of our countrymen. During that long period he has tried to work for the best interests of the people and actively participated in all progressive activities. Even in declining years he has continued his labours unabated. Our present feeble generation might well follow his example in his continued labours for the popular weal and his boundless enthusiasm in the work that he does."

But the most remarkable personality from any point of view was Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1900). He took his M.A., and LL.B. degrees from the Bombay University and on his passing the Advocate Examination (1871) he was appointed Sub-Judge at Poona. Even earlier he had discharged himself efficiently as a Member on the staff of the Elphinstone College where he rose up to the rank of a Professor and as Oriental Translator to the Bombay Government. His academic

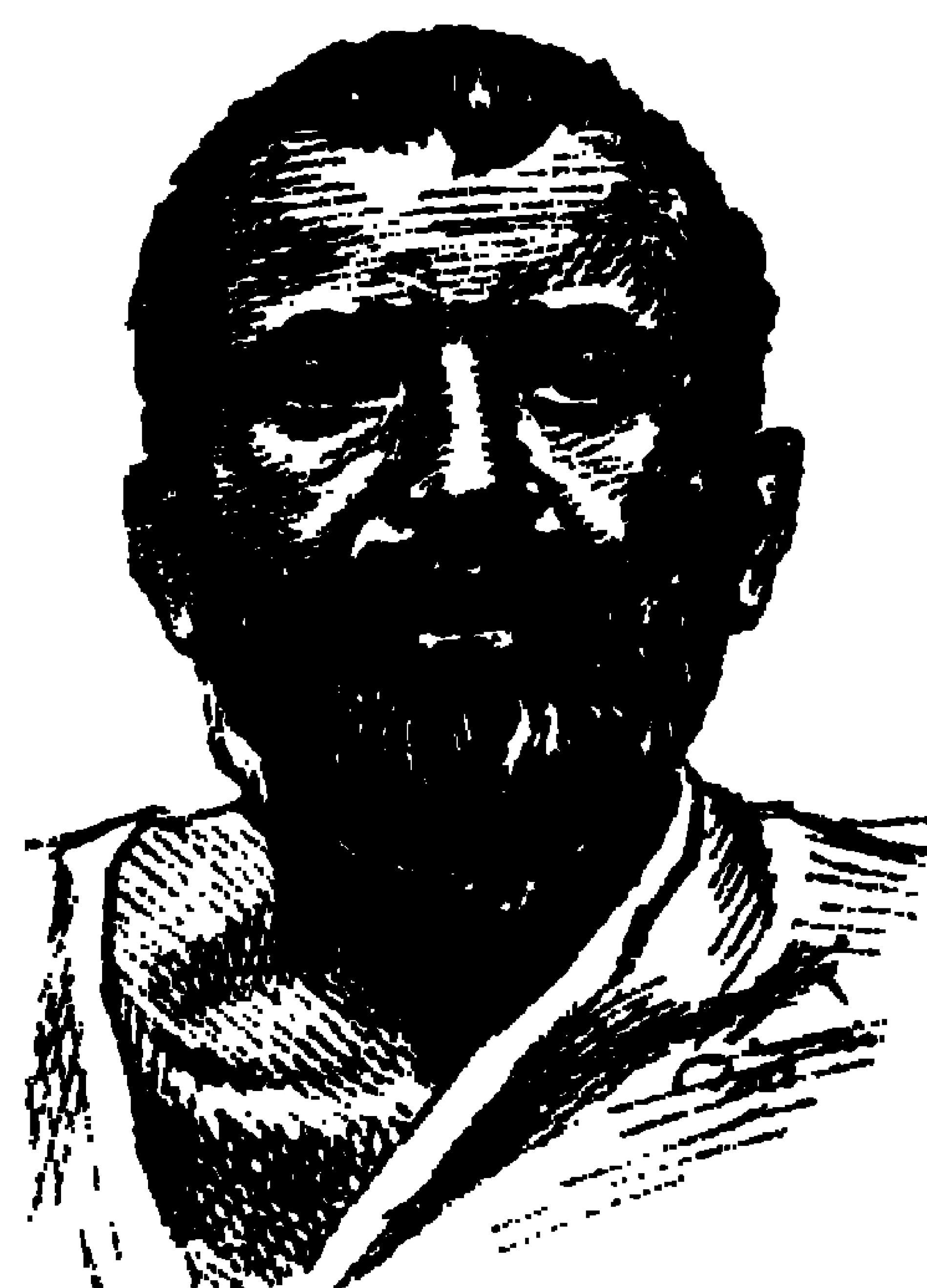
career and achievements were brilliant and though he entered Government service he took a keen interest in the public affairs of the country. He was a voracious reader and a profound thinker. He started a society for the spread of knowledge and joined the *Prarthana Samaj* one year after it was founded (1851) under the auspices of Keshab Chandra Sen. He founded the Sarvajanik Sabha for the ventilation of public grievances and later its quarterly Journal to whose pages he was a regular contributor. In fact, more than three-fourths of the matter which appeared in that Journal was from his pen. He initiated a new way of economic thinking suitable to the conditions of India. He was an ardent social reformer and he opposed casteism and idolatry. He was against child marriage and promoted widow remarriages. He rose to be a Judge of the High Court at Bombay, but at times he suffered official displeasure. In more sense than one he was a friend, philosopher and guide to public workers in the Maharashtra and in India in his time. Tilak differed from him in his zeal of advocacy for social reforms and his moderation in politics, but he admired Ranade for the profundity of his thoughts, his comprehensive outlook and the burning patriotism which characterised all his activities. Tilak was overwhelmed when he set down to write his obituary. Of him, he said:[3]

"Madhavraoji's life was educative and important on account of his extraordinary intelligence, long and continued labour, genuine devotion to the national cause, unquenchable thirst for knowledge and his rare imaginativeness. The honours that he achieved in Government and popular circles and the services that he rendered

3. The *Kesari*, Jan. 22, 1901.



Raja Rammohan Roy
1774-1833



Ramkrishna Paramhansa
1835-1886



Swami Vivekananda
1862-1902



M. K. Gandhi
1869-1948



Mahadeo Govind Ranade
1842-1904



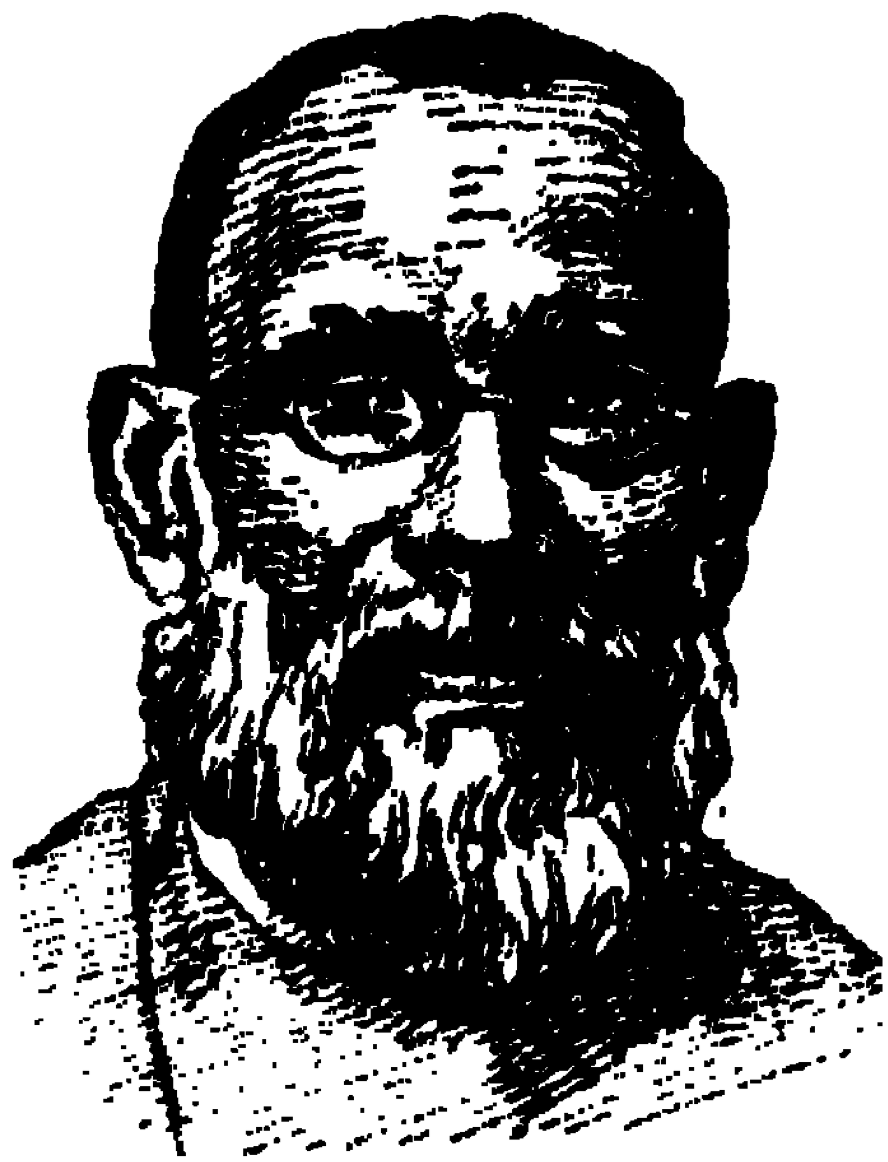
Vishnushastri Chiplunkar
1850-1882



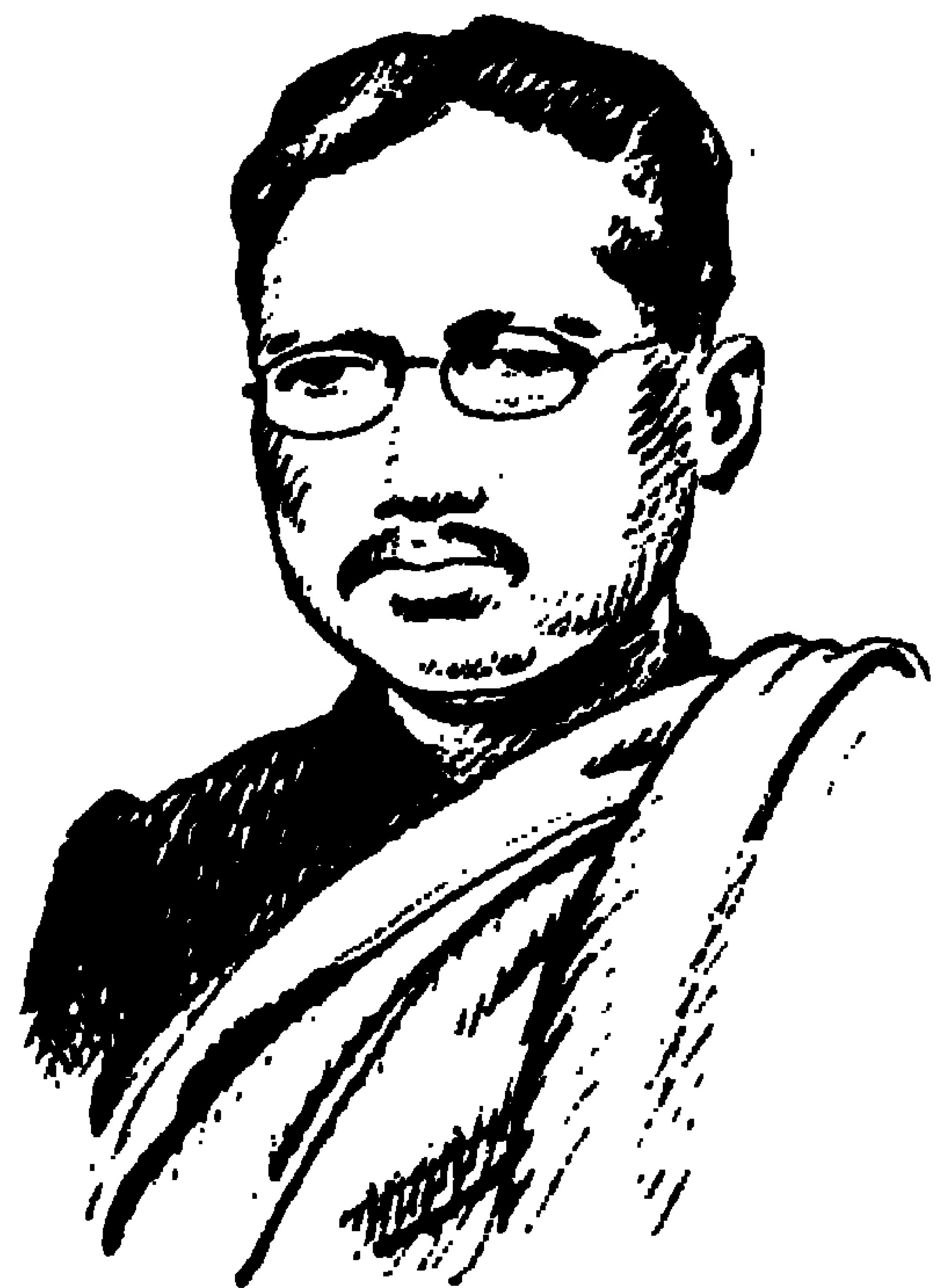
Gopal Ganesh Agarkar
1856-1895



Gopal Krishna Gokhale
1866-1915



Surendra Nath Banerjee
1848-1925



Bipin Chandra Pal
1855-1932



C. R. Das
1870-1925



Aurobindo Ghosh
1872-1950



Dadabhai Naoroji
1825-1917



Pherozshah Mehta
1845-1915



Annie Beasant
1847-1933



Lala Lajpat Rai
1865-1928

to the Government and the people are not of an ordinary kind. Even this achievement was sufficient and would have entitled him to be considered as a great man. But his contribution to the national life was far more precious. Immediately after Maharashtra lost its independence a pallour of death spread over its face. People were almost dazed by the British administration and they were in the grip of a deadening hypnotism aggravated still more by the reverse of 1857. All national activity was at a standstill and people did not know what to do. Maharashtra, as it were, was completely frozen. It was Madhavraoji who first took upon himself the impossible task of thinking how to breathe life into this cold clump of clay and ceaselessly work for it, and this has been his principal claim to extraordinary greatness. His first virtue was that he felt that the Nation should progress in all spheres and he was endowed by Providence with a profound and comprehensive intellect which enabled him to achieve a thorough analysis of ends and means and he was convinced that our country was lagging behind in all spheres of national life, social reform, and development of education and politics and that the country could not come on a par with other civilised nations, unless there was a complete reform in all the spheres ...... He was the only man of his time who thought day and night to bring back life to our fallen nation."......

"In fact," he said, "that if Maharashtra later on showed greater life and greater public activities it was all due to the unremitting labours of Ranade for more than a quarter century."

Ranade's principal strength in his public activities was an unfailing patience and an unbounded optimism about the future. "We must bear our cross", he once said, "not because it is sweet to suffer, but because the pain and suffering are as nothing compared with the issues involved."

Speaking about the future of India, he said:

"with a liberated manhood, with buoyant hope, with a faith that never shirks duty, with a sense of justice that deals fairly to all, with unclouded intellect and powers fully cultivated, and lastly, with a love that overlaps all bounds renovated India will take her proper rank among the nations of the world and be the master of the situation and of her own destiny. This is the goal to be reached—this is the promised land. Happy are they who see it in distant vision, happier those who are permitted to work and clear the way on to it, happiest they who live to see it with their own eyes and tread upon the holy soil once more."

Another remarkable personality in the period immediately preceding Tilak's entry into public life was Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar, son of an illustrious father whose study of Sanskrit and English brought to him the job of Translator Exhibitioner in 1852, whose function was to keep the Government in touch with writings in the language press and later on of an Assistant Professor of the Poona College. He was a learned man of his time and did much to counteract the activities of Christian Missionaries. He wrote 25 essays on Marathi Grammar, biography of Socrates and other literary works. He also published the Marathi translation of the Arabian Nights. His son, Vishnu Shastri was educated up to the B.A. and entered service in 1873. He published the *Nibandha Mala* (a series of essays), a monthly journal in which he published essays on serious topics on different subjects like history, the life of Johnson, Moropant the Marathi Poet, and critical essays about reformers like "Lokahitavadi". The language of his writings was chaste and his thoughts serious. He made frequent use of sarcasm in his writ-

ings which exercised an effective influence upon the minds of rising Maharashtra. He was orthodox in his views and had always an impatience about the activities of the social reformers. He was patriotic to the core. Soon after joining services at a High School in the Ratnagiri district, he was transferred to Poona, the metropolis which had witnessed two historic events in the past and which had continued to be the nerve centre of Maharashtra. He started the Chitrashala Press to publish popular pictures of national and religious interest and the Kitab Khana which was a book-depot for good literature. About 1879 he made up his mind to eschew Government service and start an institution of his own. What he thought of Government service is evident from a letter which he wrote to one of his junior colleagues after resigning. "In these days of helplessness and subservience," he wrote:

"Government service is looked upon as something of heavenly light and one deliberately giving it up must consequently be looked upon as little short of a mad man or a suicide. But for my own part I have always thought very differently on the matter. Rather than bound the knee to the tyranny I would snap asunder the chain once and for ever ... it is then my supreme disgust of the drudgery of a government school life that let me to resign my place. I may resolve to try what might be done for public good with a potent instrumentality of a press establishment worked by vigorous hands ... I have said, I believe, enough to asssure you that it was in no monetary freak that I resolved to bear the chain any longer."

Speaking about his work Tilak had occasion to observe (April 2, 1901):

"The development of our language is a principal means of country's regeneration and it is an accepted fact that no one did this work (in Maharashtra) as fully

as Vishnu Shastri did. . . . During the last 25 years there have been movements like that of the Indian National Congress and it is true that people's presses are being opened on account of such activities; but it is indisputable that Shastri Buwa (Chiplunkar) removed the chaos and stupor which had come with the first draught of English education; and every impartial person will have to admit that it is not a small matter to turn the people's mind towards good behaviour and real patriotism arresting with his pen the undesirable tendency that was the result of early English education and that the man who did this before completion of 32 years cannot be counted as of the common kind."

He added that history will have to recognise his services in the cause of our religion, our language (Marathi) and our country.

(iii) *The Problem of the Times — An Analysis*

There is no doubt of the influence which Chiplunkar exercised on the contemporary Maharashtra by his essays. But to properly understand the basis of both Chiplunkar and Tilak's activities it is necessary to appreciate their fundamental approach to the problems before that confronted them.

In an essay on the condition of our country,[4] remarkable for its incisive and brilliant analysis, Chiplunkar examined the various relevant aspects of the cause of the country's deteriorated conditions and the remedy for its removal. In his analysis of the then existing conditions he considered seriatim the true nature of the British Government in India, the role that the princes were playing and the condition of the common people.

4. The essay first appeared in the *Nibandha-mala*. It was proscribed during the swadeshi movement days and the ban was later removed when the Congress assumed power.

He referred in detail to the various stratagems by which the British Rule was established in India. Whatever the past history might be, he said, the real relationship between the ruler and the ruled ought to be that between the father and the son; the expressed intentions of the British Government of India was the good of the country. People had, in the first stages, faith in their professions; but now people thought otherwise. He further analysed the advantages and disadvantages of British rule in India. The advantages were: Firstly, on account of the introduction of the modern system of education, a wide range of knowledge had be thrown open to the people. The second advantage was the scientific knowledge made available during the British Rule. The third advantage was a sense of self-respect, love of liberty and patriotism that had been the result of Western education. There were many other ancillary advantages like undisturbed peace and opportunities for expansion of trade, which were now available. But as against these advantages there were very serious losses. The first of them was the loss of freedom.

"Subjection had resulted in the elimination of our free existence in the map of the world. It had resulted in all-round deterioration, politically, economically and socially. Our learning is superficial and we have lost our faith in religion. We have lost the sense of initiative whether in individual or public life. The thesis that we are incapable of enjoying freedom and that there is no other alternative but the British rule if we are to achieve progress is false. Even a cursory study of the events of the last 20 to 25 years will convince us of the sheer foolishness of the opinion that we are absolutely incapable of politics or war and that it is only the English that can teach us and guide us and he instanced the events of 1857."

Subjection had led to all-round restrictions of our efforts for progress, but the biggest loss resulting from subjection was the complete intellectual frustration.

"People who become habituated to subjection," he observed, "suffer the loss of self-respect and courage, and our country has reached the Nadir in these virtues at the present moment. The current tendency is to flatter the ruler and to try to be as comfortable as possible. The English system of education essentially is healthy, but perhaps the defective manner in which the system works in India has been responsible for creating exactly contrary results."

"The duty of our rulers under the circumstances is," he said:

"to behave in accordance with the precepts of the religion which they are following, and surely that religion does not countenance the approach of Hastings, Dalhousie, Richard Temple."

Apart from the religious approach, considerations of equity also require the rulers to work as the servants of the people. They should protect their subjects, lead them towards the way of progress, undertake steps so that the country may prosper and create conditions of mutual goodwill among the various communities. But such a policy is not evident in actual practice. Even considering the question from the point of view of expediency the rulers should put a limit to the exploitation that was going on. It would be in their own interest to look after the welfare of the country. Besides,

"a Government can function smoothly only so long as the subjects are contented; if the people become discontented and nurse a sense of injury in their minds no one can say what might happen. One need not emphasize the advisability of immense caution where a mere handful have to rule over crores of people."

Adverting to the conditions of the Indian princes, Chiplunkar contrasted their present inanity with their earlier spirit of adventure and heroism.

"It is obvious that the present conditions of our ruling princes are most deplorable. The common man is much better than a prince because he enjoys much greater freedom of action. While it is the duty of the British Government to treat the princes in a better manner, it was the duty of the princes also, within their limitations, to do as much as possible for the progress of their countrymen."

Analysing the conditions of the common man Chiplunkar first referred to the utter poverty from which the country was suffering. Such poverty deprives the people of their initiative.

"English historians praise the establishment of peace in India. But this very peace has been most undesirable in its results to the people. In fact the undisturbed peace and the fear of Government have resulted in the complete frustration of the people. The people in England are masters of their Sovereign, and here the people are like cattle and the Government are the highest *Parabrahma.*"

In addition to the economic deterioration the people were also suffering from absence of progress in real education or artistic achievements.

"The conditions of barbarian countries is good in a way in that they possess at least an initiative and the advanced countries are able to give facilities for the betterment of life. We are neither barbarous nor advanced;..............We have neither the inrepressible zeal of even barbarous people nor have we the capacity or the intelligence of the advanced."

Our people had become but faint imitations of the ways of life of our rulers.

How would the country be able to get out of the miserable conditions in which it found itself? Chiplunkar rejected the plea of some people that unless we were able to free ourselves from idolatry and the caste system, unless we adopted reforms like widow remarriage and stopped child marriages, unless we changed our habits of food it was futile to achieve any progress. Nothing can be gained, he said, by indulging in a sweeping condemnation of our religion. Not that reforms might not be necessary, but it was wrong to hold that these reforms were indispensable for achieving our destiny. Hinduism, he said, has shown itself capable of compromises, when the Nation would require it, and such compromises should not be impossible also in the future. The above mentioned notions were largely a result of the propaganda by missionaries and want of real self-knowledge. *The basic reason of our present demoralisation and miseries was, he said, the existence of foreign rule.*

"The elimination of foreign rule would be a solution of the problem; but situated as we are, it was impossible to think of a successful armed revolt, and therefore we have to achieve our objective with the goodwill of the rulers. Such mutual goodwill appear to be possible in view of the greater appreciation of the Indian culture outside India. Besides, the advance of democracy during the century has increased the possibility of India getting out of its present position and taking her proper place in the comity of nations. The foundation of national progress was full self-realisation. We must properly understand how the various countries in the world are related to each other. How we are situated in respect of our relationship with other countries, what our country was and what it is now

and the reasons for the change, and what are the desiderates for achieving the national prosperity again."

"We must take steps to rouse our country from its slumber and stupor", he said, "as was done in countries like Russia and France, and the principal means were the tongue and the pen. It was necessary to establish schools and forms of discussion and to publish suitable newspapers, magazines and books."

It will be admitted on all hands that this incisive analysis of the then existing conditions in India constitutes a milestone in the history of thought in Maharashtra and in India. In fact it laid a foundation for nation building activities which he and his colleagues like Tilak and Agarkar commenced and it appears that Tilak agreed almost wholesale with Chiplunkar's outlook in respect of steps to be taken towards national regeneration as the sequel will show.

There is no doubt that, apart from the writings of Chiplunkar, many other contemporaneous events must have influenced Tilak's youthful mind when in college. It is even possible that the events of 1857 should have had an impact on his emotions and imagination, for hardly fourteen years had passed between the suppression of that memorable revolt and his entry into college. The names of Rani of Jhansi, Nanasaheb of Kanpur and Tantia Topi could not have failed to evoke in his mind feelings about India's past and present. Reviewing a biography of the Rani of Jhansi in the columns of the *Kesari* at the relatively sober age of 40 years, he wrote with ferver and emotion about that historic and titanic struggle.[5]

"It is now 38 years since the memorable event of 1857 but rare would be the man in India whose mind

5. The *Kesari*, May 7, 1895..

is not excited by the memories of that time. The year of the great struggle will always be recorded in bold type in the history of India. The mind of every Indian becomes overpowered by peculiar zeal, fear and sorrow when its name is mentioned; the heart begins to throb and one begins to feel uneasy by the series of thought that arise about our past and our future."

Apart from such old memories, Tilak's mind must have been affected by contemporaneous events like the famine of 1876 and the callous manner with which the authorities treated the unparallelled sufferings of the people. Echoes of Lord Lytton's reactionary measures and public upheavel against them in Bengal and elsewhere doubtless must have reverberated through the quiet walls of the Deccan College. Efforts of Christian Missionaries at proselytisation also must have had a share in his thoughts as also ideas of various ways in which our cultural traditions had to be protected. Phadke's revolt in 1879 and his supreme sacrifice was naturally very fresh in his mind at the threshhold of his career. Happily for him he had in his college a friend also destined to dedicate his life to the service of the country—Gopal Ganesh Agarkar. Tilak's leanings from his college days was of an orthodox kind, whereas Agarkar was a confirmed social reformer even then. But on the need of youngmen dedicating their lives in the cause of their people and their country, they were completely at one. They thought and dreamt together. Ultimately at a happy moment both in their lives and in the modern history of India they resolved on completely dedicating themselves to the cause of education as a means of national regeneration and they joined Chiplunkar in starting a private High School—The New English School.

Chapter IV

EARLY PUBLIC LIFE: 1880-1890

The New English School was inaugurated on the 1st January 1880. The number of students on the 1st day was 150. In his inaugural speech Chiplunkar said that, like the teachers, the students also would have full freedom and initiative. He told the students that the old days, when a fresh graduate excited curiosity in the villages, were fast going. The struggle for existence was getting keener and therefore, they should study also during the vacation, alternating entertainment with such studies. They should also give themselves the pleasure of appreciating the beauties of Nature. The students could take advantage of the many institutions that public men had started in Poona. The number of students in the school gradually rose from year to year and to as much as 1109 in 1884, and the principal credit of this achievement was due both to the sacrifice and abilities of Chiplunkar, Tilak, Agarkar and Nam Joshi, as also the competence of the other members of the staff. The imprisonment of Tilak and Agarkar and the starting of the *Kesari* and *Mahratta* newspapers were also additional reasons of the growing popularity of the school. Dr. Hunter, Chairman of the Education Commission of 1882, made complimentary observations about it and he said that the School had no other peer in the whole of India, and that it excelled not only the Government High Schools in this country but also similar

schools in foreign countries. Chiplunkar died in 1882 and thus the institution was deprived of his parental guidance in the early part of its career. Apte was competent as a teacher, and Tilak, though competent, did not much mix with the students. Agarkar was more popular as every student found himself familiar and happy in his company.

It was one of the ambitions of the trio, who were principally responsible for the foundation of this institution, to have a press and journals of their own; and so the *Kesari* was started on the 1st January 1881 and the *Mahratta* two days later. Whereas the *Kesari* was intended to educate the Marathi readers of Maharashtra, the *Mahratta* was intended to serve as a forum of views for the public outside Maharashtra. The *Mahratta* with its limited circulation had to be supported by the *Kesari* even in later days. Agarkar edited *Kesari* and Tilak the *Mahratta* and both the papers were the property of the institution. Chiplunkar and Agarkar were the principal contributors and in the earlier years Tilak wrote but occasionally. The editorials dealt with subjects both political and social. By the end of the year 1881 disquieting news from Kolhapur began to attract attention in Poona. It appears that the Minor Prince Shivaji Rao of Kolhapur began to show signs of insanity and suicidal tendencies.

"It was generally believed that this mental derangement was due to the compulsory administration of intoxicating drugs to the prince. The author of this mischief was supposed to be Rao Bahadur Barve, State Karabhari, who, spurred by the Queen dowager Sakwarbai, wanted to remove the Maharaja from the Gadi either

by death or by proof of his lunacy and to have a new youth adopted by the dowager."[1]

Rumours about this filtered to Poona and a public meeting demanded the appointment of a trust-worthy person as the guardian of the prince. Further rumours came about the alleged attempt on the life of the young Maharaja and three letters, purporting to be written by the Karabhari in which there were plain suggestions about the alleged plan of poisoning, were placed in the hands of the inexperienced editors of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*. They were published in those papers with a challenge to the Karabhari to prove his innocence if he could. Barve took proceedings before the Bombay High Court for defamation, and though Tilak and Agarkar tendered a graceful apology, as they realised that there was no proper justification for the publication of the letters, Barve pressed for conviction and both of them were sentenced (16th July 1882) to four month's simple imprisonment. The apology had already purged them of any possible *mala fides* in the publication of the letters and the judges in their judgement declared that their action was "free from any suspicion of malevolence," but that they were guilty of having "thoughtlessly published defamatory articles." The two friends spent their time in serious thought in the midst of ugly and uncongenial surroundings. In his reminiscences of those days, Agarkar recalled how they had intimate discussions late through the night. They pondered over their days in the Deccan College when they resolved on a life of sacrifice and dedication and what the possible consequences of their activities were likely to

1. Athalye: *Biography of Tilak*, p. 23.

be on the future of the country. On their release (October 26, 1882) after 100 days of imprisonment, they were overwhelmed with the welcome of enthusiastic crowds and speeches made in their honour. The two young workers, who found themselves suddenly surrounded by a hallo of glory, reaffirmed their determination to continue their work inspite of any difficulties or sufferings. As observed above, this imprisonment also added to the importance of the *Kesari*. In spite of the circulation having gone to 4,500 by 1885, the newspaper showed a loss. During Tilak's absence in jail one Vasudeorao Kelkar took over the editorship of the *Mahratta*, which continued with him till 1891.

The increasing prosperity of the School logically led to the establishment of a College. A Society was registered under the name of the Deccan Education Society and the idea of starting a College fruitioned at the end of 1884. The Society was founded in a meeting presided over by Sir William Wedderburn (24th October 1884). Wedderburn, Wordsworth, and Telang were amongst the first members of the Governing Body and the College had the blessings of both Ranade and Bhandarkar. The College was named after the then popular Governor of Bombay, James Fergusson and began functioning on the 2nd January 1885. The foundation stone of the College was laid by Governor Fergusson on the 5th of March on the famous site of the Budhwar Wada of the Peshwas of Poona; but somehow later on the proposal of granting the site fell through and ultimately the College was built on the present site outside Poona city. A little later Government proposed to hand over the Deccan College to the Society, but owing to non-agreement on some conditions

ultimately proposed by the Government, the proposal fell through. Both the institutions had continued prosperity both by virtue of efficient management and competent teaching. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was inspired by Tilak's example to join the institution (1885) to which he became a precious asset.

But in the midst of these days of prosperity so far as the institutions were concerned, inner troubles began to threaten the cherished fulfilment of the objectives which the original founders had placed before themselves. Inevitably, acute differences between Tilak and Agarkar arose due to their different outlook on social reform. These differences came to the surface for the first time in 1884 when a social reformer, Malbari, of Bombay put forward the suggestion that Government aid by way of legislation should be taken for the discouragement of child marriages. This question set the ball rolling, giving rise to more acute differences. Conflicting views began to appear in the *Kesari*. But there was unanimity on political matters and the *Kesari* had a word of full-throated welcome to the idea of holding the first session of the Congress in Bombay.

"Those who have studied the question of political reform through history will doubtless congratulate the convenors of such conferences. In the first instance these conferences may look like the play of children; but it is such efforts that will give the shape of parliament to such conferences. We have no other way to take up such efforts under the present circumstances."

But the *Kesari* next year denounced the effort of mixing up social reform with the Congress. There were many such conflicts between the views of Agarkar and Tilak on matters of social reform. This conflict led to

the declaration that the Society as a whole was not responsible for the views in the papers and ultimately the handing over charge of the *Kesari* to Tilak. Agarkar next year started a paper of his own *The Sudharak* with the help of Gokhale.

Acute dissensions, however, between him and Tilak and other workers had commenced even earlier on other grounds. Tilak recalled the history of these differences in his detailed letter on the occasion of tendering his resignation (1890). The original idea was to start the educational institution on missionary lines. The first departure from this principle was made in favour of Apte who was promoted to be Superintendent in order to draw higher pay than others who were paid Rs. 40/- p.m. in the first instance and later on Rs. 75/-. During the first year Tilak and Chiplunkar did not draw any pay whatever. The defamation case of 1882 strengthened the unity among the members and in addition to the life members then working, Kelkar and Gole joined the institution (1883). Apte had declared in 1882 that he would take up the work of writing text-books which was contrary to the original objective of working like missionaries. The foundations of the institutions were strengthened in the 3 years from 1883 to 1885 and rules were made for insurance and gratuity of the life workers. The institution assumed a regular shape in the period from 1885 to 1889, but the old missionary spirit began to receive rude shocks. All life workers were placed on an equal scale in October 1885. Complaints began to be made about the newspapers and the press which were allotted to Kelkar and Gokhale respectively. Agarkar chose to start another paper in 1888 and

the question of Apte's books also added to the troubles. The grant of Rs. 700/- from the Maharaja of Holkar which was originally meant for the institution was later on, at the instance of some of the life members, split up to include a gift of Rs. 400/- for a book by Agarkar. The remuneration of the life workers was increased from Rs. 75/- to Rs. 100/-. But still there were attempts at increasing pays further, to the detriment of the principle of sacrifice and of the finances of the institution. All these differences, Tilak said, came to such an acute state that he went on leave for 6 months in 1889; but in the meantime, the Society passed a vote of censure on the 14th October 1890 and that vote made it impossible for him to continue in the institution. Tilak realised that, in addition to other points of differences between him and his colleagues, his temperament was an additional reason. He confessed he was blunt in his discussions and sometimes hurt his colleagues but he said he had done it in the best interest of the institution, and the cause.

CHAPTER V

JOURNALIST AND PUBLICIST: 1889-1897

Though it was in October 1890 that Tilak, by his resignation, cut his connection with the Deccan Education Society, he had begun to participate more actively in the discussions of public affairs ever since he became the actual editor of the *Kesari* in 1887. The first controversy in which he participated was in connection with what came to be known as the Crawford case. Crawford was the Commissioner of the Central Division. He was an able and popular administrator, but he indulged in large-scale corruption by taking bribes from the Mamlatdars working in his jurisdiction. When this corruption came to light, Government asked the Inspector-General of Police, in June 1888, to enquire into the matter. Most of the Mamlatdars volunteered confessions of having given illegal gratifications to Crawford. A Commission of inquiry had to be appointed in the matter, as Crawford had in the meantime escaped from India. As a result of the findings of that Commission, Crawford was ultimately removed from service. His chief agent, Hanumantrao, was sentenced to 2 years and further steps against the abetting Mamlatdars were being considered. Tilak urged that an assurance of pardon was given to the Mamlatdars prior to their testimony and therefore, no steps should be taken against them. There was a public meeting in Poona at the instance of many responsible leaders including Ranade and Bhandarkar. The meeting congratulated the Government on the action taken to probe into the matter,

but pressed upon the Government to exonerate the abetting Mamlatdars. Tilak spoke supporting the resolution. Tilak took up the matter with Digby and Bradlaw, Members of Parliament, but ultimately the question could not come up before Parliament. Due to this agitation, a few Mamlatdars were retained in service, some others were dismissed but their pay was continued and the remaining were dismissed without pay, as they, unlike the others, had not the justification of coercion for payment of bribes. Crawford himself was treated lightly and as there was no legal proof of bribes having actually reached him, but as he himself admitted that he had taken these amounts as loans, he was held guilty of that misdemeanour and removed from service. Tilak's advocacy of the case of the erring Mamlatdars not only brought him their gratitude but also public appreciation.

The next important matter which came up before the public was the Age of Consent Bill, raising the age from 10 to 12 years, which was formally introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 9th January 1891. Tilak opposed this measure particularly on the ground that it was not proper for Government to interfere with the accepted social customs of the people. There was discussion about the subject even earlier, and at one public meeting held late in October 1890 Tilak proposed that people should voluntarily come forward to bind themselves to agree to certain measures of social reform and when the number reached at least 200, suitable arrangements should be made for legislation applicable only to the signatories. The measures of social reform that he proposed were, that girls should not be married before completing 16 years, that boys should not be married before completion of 20 years,

that men should not marry after 40 years of age and if they wanted to marry they should marry a widow, that there should be complete prohibition, that the custom of dowry should be put an end to, that a person should contribute 1/10th of his income for the promotion of these social reforms and that a widow should not be tonsured. This suggestion was not acceptable to the social reformers as being difficult of achievement.

Tilak's main contention was that social reform should not be imposed upon the people. It should be evolved from within. The Bill raised the age of consent from 10 to 12 years and Tilak pointed out the many anomalies that would result from such a provision. There was a public meeting of about 7000 people before the Shanwar Wada on the 15th February, 1891, in which the proposed measure was opposed. Another meeting convened in support of the measure by the reformers ended in chaos on account of the disturbance caused by some irresponsible opponents of the measure, and though allegations were made that Tilak was at the bottom of these disturbances, there was no truth in it. A prosecution followed, but all the accused were acquitted. A meeting of the Hindus and Muslims was held in Bombay in Byculla and the measure was opposed. Another meeting in opposition to the measure held in Thakurdwar on the 7th June was disturbed by social reform enthusiasts. There were opinions both for and against in the other provinces also and in Bengal some responsible leaders, like Surendra Nath Banerjea opposed the measure. But ultimately the Bill was passed. By the stand that he took, Tilak gathered the sympathies of the large orthodox section of the Hindus in Maharashtra.

Tilak was working out a thesis on the antiquity of the Vedas since 1889. He submitted it to the Ninth Oriental Congress in London in 1892, and later published it separately under the name, *Orion*. He endeavoured to show that "the traditions recorded in the *Rigveda* unmistakably point to a period, not later than 4000 B.C., when the Vernal equinox was in the Orion, or in other words, when Dog-Star commenced the equinoctical year." He cited many Vedic texts and legends in support of his conclusion, giving them a rational explanation for the first time, throwing considerable light on the legends and rites in late Sanskrit works. The work brought Tilak great distinction in the world of Oriental Scholars, who were impressed with his erudition and scholarship. He brought it out, in the midst of busy public work, and he observed in the preface that it was not likely that his other engagements would permit him to devote much time to that subject in future.

The years 1893 to 1894 marked bitter tension between the Hindu and Muslim communities. There were riots in Bombay, Poona and elsewhere in the Presidency. There were attacks and counter-attacks by members of these two communities and consequent prosecutions. Tilak participated actively in this controversy and blamed the authorities for not adequately punishing the aggressors, but penalising those who acted in self-defence. Regarding questions of ancient usages which often gave rise to controversies and breaches of peace as between the two communities, Tilak urged that in each case Government should enquire into the previous usages and when a particular usage was established, to enforce it without hesitation and regardless of any opposition that may come from either community.

He incurred the ire of the powers that be, by the vigorous criticism which he levelled against them, particularly their incompetence and partiality.

During this period Tilak participated actively in the provincial conferences which began to be held from 1888. For some time he acted as Secretary and prominently appeared on the platform at the time of the discussions in the Sessions. He was also elected to the Poona Municipality as also to the Provincial Legislature in 1895. Speaking at the time of the budget discussions he dwelt upon salient points arising therefrom. But he soon realised that the Provincial Legislatures were a farce. He wrote (21-1-1896) about the Councils:

"We cannot resist the feeling that the Legislative Council is a big joke. The last Session lasted for three-fourths of an hour. In that short time, 20 questions were answered, some papers were laid on the table and one Bill adopted."

It was about this time that the Tilak group captured the Sarvajanik Sabha from the Ranade group and Tilak contributed to the pages of the journal some learned articles. He was re-elected to the Legislature on the eve of his prosecution (1897), but it must be admitted that his work outside the Legislature was far more important and effective than his contributions to the discussions on the floor of the House.

The Eleventh Session of the Congress in 1895 was held at Poona. It was the earlier practice to hold a Session of the Social Conference in the same pandal after the Congress Session was over; but there was a substantial opposition on the ground that social matters should not be mixed up in any manner with the Congress Session. Ultimately the idea of holding the Social

Conference Session in the same pandal was abandoned as a result of this opposition.

As we shall have occasion to note later on, the Hindu Muslim tension gave rise to the Ganpati festival and Tilak heartily supported both this and the Shivaji festival which came later. Tilak had to actively participate in the work of amelioration of those who had suffered from the famines of 1896. Bubonic plague made its appearence later during this year and Tilak, while on the one hand supporting Government measures for the eradication of plague by disinfection of homes, vigorously criticised the manner in which those were sought to be executed. These measures were relaxed in May as the epidemic substantially subsided, but Mr. Rand, the Plague Officer, and Col. Ayerst were shot dead on the day of the Queen's Jubilee on the 22nd June, 1897 and the panic-struck authorities launched a prosecution against Tilak for publishing seditious matter in the *Kesari* and deported the Natu brothers.

Tilak's activities during these years (1890-1897) gave him increasing popularity. Public opinion looked upon him as a leader who was not only clear in his presentatoin of his views, but who would run any risk whatever for the advocacy of the popular cause. The *Kesari* gathered increasing popularity. Tilak had a peculiar way of expressing himself. He not only pursued principal topics of importance from week to week and months and years on end, but his versatile pen traversed over all subjects of any public importance. We find him dealing with problems concerning currency and exchange, public revenue and expenditure, matters connected with agricultural assessments, the administration of Governors and Governors-General, international

affairs, all with a rare thoroughness and mastery of detail. Whenever any subject came under his consideration, he studied all aspects of it with meticulous care and it was a treat to his Marathi readers to study week by week his articles, not only replete with information, but also full of thought-provoking and inspiring ideas. He tried to make himself understood by the common man by the simple language that he used and his contributions to Marathi Journalism had no parallel. He combined the vigour of Chiplunkar, but he added to that vigour of diction, a strong incentive to action. Even today his writings sound as fresh as at the time that they were written. He was merciless to his opponents, whether it was his own countrymen or the foreign rulers. He suffered from no inferiority complex and he looked upon sarcasm as a legitimate weapon in controversy. It was no surprise, therefore, that he made enemies not only in the camp of his countrymen who opposed his views but also in the citadel of British bureaucrats who looked upon this new force as something sinister that must be repressed at all costs. The prosecution of 1897 was a culminating point of this mounting Governmental anger, but instead of repressing Tilak and decreasing his influence, this prosecution gave him a surer place not only in the esteem of people in Maharashtra, but strengthened him and gave him a wider platform in the broader field of Indian public life.



LOKAMANYA TILAK, 1890

CHAPTER VI

TILAK AND THE CONGRESS: 1885-1897

The story of the genesis of the Indian National Congress has been repeatedly recounted. Though two All India National Conferences were held at Calcutta in 1883 and 1885 under the auspices of the Indian Association and other allied bodies functioning in Bengal, the actual foundation of the Congress was due to the efforts of A. O. Hume who had retired from Government service and who thought that unless a proper outlet was devised for bringing all India on one platform to voice the aspirations of the people, there might be a violent upheaval. He consulted representative leaders of Indian opinion and liberal statesmen in Britain and he started this effort with the active concurrence of Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General, whose idea was however that the Congress should devote itself to the discussion primarily of social questions. Sympathetic Englishmen like Wedderburn and Cotton associated themselves actively with the Congress from the very inception.

The first Session was held in Bombay, though the original idea was to hold it under the auspices of the Sarvajanik Sabha at Poona, but had to be abandoned on account of the sudden outbreak of cholera there. Amongst the participants in the first Congress are to be found the names of Hume and Wedderburn, W. C. Bonerji and Narendra Nath Sen from Calcutta, Apte and Agarkar from Poona, Ganga Prasad Verma from Lucknow, Dadabhai Naoroji, Telang and Mehta, Watcha,

Malabari and Chandavarkar from Bombay, Rangiah Naidu, Subbramania Iyer, Anandacharlu and Veera Raghavachari from Madras. The direct objectives of the Congress as enunciated by the promoters were:

"To enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other and to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year."

It was also mentioned that the Congress would form the germ of a native parliament.

The subjects which came up for discussion during the initial years of the Congress were: the reform and extension of the Supreme and local legislative councils by the admission of a considerable number of elected members and endowing them with powers of discussing the budget and of interpellation, the abolition of the Indian Council, the desirability of holding ICS examinations simultaneously in India and England, equitable apportionment of Military expenditure between India and England, extension of trial by jury, finality to be given to the verdicts of the jury, separation of judicial and executive functions, establishment of military colleges, amendment of the Arms Act and Rules, an active policy of technical education and industrial development, reform of land revenue policy of the Government, abolition of Exchange compensation allowance, reduction of Home charges, repeal of the Cotton Excise Duty, recruitment of the higher judiciary from the Bar, conditions of Indians in colonies, measures for the relief of agricultural indebtedness and similar subjects. They also expressed their disapproval and asked for the repeal or modification of restrictive

measures like the Bengal, Madras and Bombay Regulations of 1818, 1819 and 1827 respectively, the Sedition Act of 1898, the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1899, the Indian Universities Act of 1904, the Official Secrets Act of 1904 and similar measures of a retrogade character.

Distinguished leaders from different communities adorned the Presidential chair and made passionate pleas for improving the condition of the country. Amongst those that presided over the deliberations for the first 20 years may be mentioned: W. C. Bonerji, Dadabhai Naoroji (who was thrice elected President), Budruddin Tyabji, William A. Wedderburn, Pherozeshah Mehta, Surendra Nath Banerjea, Romesh Chandra Dutt, Lal Mohan Ghose, Henry Cotton and G. K. Gokhale. Hume, Wedderburn and Cotton continued their active interest in the Congress till the end of their lives. A British Committee was established to carry on the work in England and a journal "India" started as the mouthpiece. The increasing tempo of enthusiasm can be judged from the fact that the number of delegates varied between 72 at the first Congress and 1889 at the 5th Congress in Bombay depending upon the enthusiasm of each local centre, the President of the Session, and contemporary events.

Moving speeches were made both by the Presidents and those who spoke on the resolutions. Welcoming the delegates to the Second Session, Dr. Rajendra Lal Misra, in emphasising the desirability of the election of popular representatives to the Legislative Councils, said:

"We live, not under a national Government, but under a foreign bureaucracy; our foreign rulers are foreigners by birth, religion, language, habits, by every-

thing that divides humanity in different sections; they cannot possibly dive into our hearts; they cannot ascertain our wants, our feelings, our aspirations."

Supporting the resolution for representative legislatures, Malik Bhagwan Das from Dehra-E-Ismail-Khan, speaking in Urdu, expressed himself thus:

"If I speak plainly, it is not that I am opposed to British rule. Far from it; that rule has no more earnest supporter than myself. But good as it is, there are many things yet that should be improved, and amongst them the matters dealt with by this Congress. And while I say, May God prosper British rule in India for ever, I also say, May He give our rulers wisdom to understand the reasonableness of our demands for reforms and the magnanimity to concede what we ask for."

Raja Rampal Singh supporting the resolution in favour of volunteering, in the same session, voiced his feelings as follows:

"We are deeply grateful to Government for all the good that it has done us, but we cannot be grateful to it when it is, no matter with what best of intentions, doing us such a terrible and irreparable injury. We cannot be grateful to it for degrading our nature by systematically crushing among us all martial spirit, for converting a race of soldiers, of heroes, into a timid flock of field-driven sheep .... This may be strong language but it is a truth; nothing can ever make amends to a nation for the destruction of its national spirit and of the capacity to defend itself and the soil from which it springs."

Surendra Nath Banerjea whose clarion voice resounded in every session on important questions, thus gave vent to his feelings regarding representation in legislatures:

"Self-government is the arbiter of nature, the will of Divine Providence. Every nation must be arbiter of its destinies—such is the omnipotent fiat inscribed by nature with her own hands and in her own eternal rules. But do we govern ourselves? The answer is No. Are we then living in an unnatural state? Yes, in the same state in which the patient lives under the administration of the physician."

Speaking about the desirability of a permanent settlement, Baikuntha Nath Sen observed,

"We had plenty of wood for our houses, our ploughs, for every agricultural purpose. Now it is under the lock and key of the Forest Department and if we touch it, ... if we want a stick, we have to run from one office to another and we have to pay, pay and pay."

Wedderburn, who was presented with an address at the time of the Fifth Congress, advised moderation.

"Don't be disappointed," said he, "if of a just claim only some is conceded. It is new but shall be everyday coming; it is new but you have those who stand in the House of Commons to plead for you; not I alone but members devoted to you as I possibly can be."

The official report that was laid before the Sixth Session thus spoke of disappointment in some quarters.

"What wonder if some of us, at times despairing justice at the hands of man, cry in bitterness of heart, how long, Oh Lord?, how long."

Speaking of the poverty of the people at the 9th Session at Lahore, Madan Mohan Malaviya said:

"Wherever you go, you find British manufactures and British goods staring in the face. All that is left to the people is to drag out a miserable existence by agricultural operations and make an infinitesimal profit out of the little trade left to them."

Speaking on the resolution of remedying the poverty of India, Nandi expressed himself at the Congress of 1894.

"Go in and see those figures in houses and see their squalid condition, pale and miserable with no food to eat and with no drink to take and with no salt."

Speaking on the evergreen subject of simultaneous examinations Surendra Nath concluded with a glowing picture of the land of promise on which their eyes were fixed, "Where their fetters will fall off, their badge of political slavery will disappear, where, under the fostering influence of free political institutions, they will develop a civilisation, the noblest of which the world has ever seen, the emblem of indissoluble union between England and India, a civilisation fraught with unspeakable blessing to the people of India, and unspeakable renown to the English name."

It will be seen that much eloquence was evident in the speeches of the leaders but they were thoroughly loyal to the Government and earnestly hoped that their pleas would one day be heard and then their grievances redressed. Till the advent of the Curzonian era, vehemence was not evident in the proceedings of the Congress. In fact, in earlier years, the Congress basked under the sun-shine of official smiles. Lord Dufferin entertained the delegates to the Second Session at Calcutta to an official party; Lord Connemara, the Governor of Madras, gave a similar reception next year. But soon enough, the official world realised the way in which the Congress was going and, impatient of its growing influence, began to frown on its activities. Lord Dufferin sneered (1888) at the representative character

of the organisation, saying it represented only a microscopic section of the community and next year the Governor of Bengal prohibited Government servants from attending the Congress.

The first mention of Tilak in the Congress proceedings appears in 1889. He was elected to the Subjects Committee in that Session. In open sessions he moved the resolution setting forth the desirability of consolidating Indian opinion and encouraging and qualifying Indians to defend their homes and governments by modifying the rules under the Arms Act, by establishing military colleges in India, by organising a system of militia service and authorising and stimulating a widespread system of volunteering, and in the course of his speech he said:

"As the British Government defends you, why want arms? was easily answered. The Government undertakes to defend 250 millions of people against wild pigs in India and wild Bears of the North. As their own return shows they do not defend the people against the wild pigs and over the northern enemy they would doubtless do their best when the time came, but meanwhile their preparations were crushing the life out of the country."

He spoke in Marathi at the 11th Session in Poona on the resolution of the unification of the medical services.

Thus, during this period, Tilak participated in the proceedings of the Congress, but it appears, not in a major capacity. He took greater interest in the sessions of the Provincial Conferences and writing in the *Kesari*

about the duties of the people on the eve of the fifth conference (18th October, 1892):

"We have to deal with the English people who are selfish sticklers and therefore our leaders have to realise that the effort has to be ceaseless and comprehensive. It is not that Government will agree to a demand by the Congress Session meeting once a year; but it is necessary that such demands must go from every province, district, city, in fact from every village and then these demands will assume a certain weight. There has to be division of labour in political agitation like in other matters. The object of those who started the Provincial Conferences was this; and it is for this reason that we give a little more importance to a Provincial Conference than to a National Conference; we do hope that a time will soon come when branch organisations will be established in every district and village .... it is political subjection that comes in the way of all reforms whether social, industrial or other and it is for the removal of these difficulties that political agitation has to be continuously kept up through national and provincial conferences. Public opinion should be roused through the agency of public meetings, the public papers and books and the like."

Writing on the eve of the 8th Session of the Congress at Allahabad, he said[1] that the Indian Councils Act of 1892 was much the result of the agitation of the Congress and he mentioned among the important questions that should be considered during the Session, the questions connected with the exchange problem, public service and the repressive measures in Bengal. Commenting on Hume's message delivered at a Poona meeting in November 1893, Tilak said,[2]

1. The *Kesari*, November 22nd, 1892.
2. The *Kesari*, November 28th, 1893.

"Mr. Hume said to his Poona hearers yesterday that he would continue to guide the Congress till the end of his life and doubtless he will get things done by us; but how long is this to continue? We must remember that the world will laugh at us if we are not able to produce some leaders approaching him, if not equalling him, in his sincerity and ability."

And he concluded his appreciation of Hume thus:

"We do pray that with God's blessings there may be occasions of meeting this Mahatma who showed us the key of our political progress, and that the encouragement he has given us may continue in the future."

The Congress of 1894 was scheduled to be held at Madras and writing about the subjects that should be usefully discussed in that session,[3] he mentioned those connected with the civil services, the Hindu-Muslim riots, the experience of the 1892 Act. He referred to the British Committee as the only means of carrying out the objects of the Congress; and he observed,

"If we cannot utilise the means efficiently, there is no one that is more idle and unfortunate as ourselves."

Writing after the session, he said,[4] that during the first five years, the Congress meant only a big crowd of people criticising the Government but after that there was a change. The late Mr. Bradlaw took over the guardianship of this orphan and after Bradlaw, Dadabhai Naoroji and Wedderburn who entered Parliament to fight the cause. The natural result was that those who had scoffed at or criticised the Congress began to cajole it. The other change was that the Congress, by

3. The *Kesari*, November 27th, 1894.
4. January 8th, 1895.

pursuing the question of reforms, proved itself to be a constructive organisation. The Act of 1892 represented some positive achievement by the Congress. A resolution urging the holding of simultaneous examinations for the I.C.S. was passed in the Parliament in 1893. The Government of India agreed to fight within the Home Government in respect of the Cotton Excise duties. All this, Tilak said, stood to the credit of the Congress.

Regarding the ensuing 11th Session, Tilak appealed[5] to the people of Maharashtra to do their best to make the Congress a success. He spoke with appreciation of the Session after it was held but he urged[6] that the work of the Congress should be organised on more systematic lines and there should be a definiteness of the work to be achieved during the next ten years and the best possible efforts should be made to invite active participation of all classes of people including the agriculturists and artisans. Holding the Congress once in the year would not do. The initial purpose of the Congress of cultivating mutual understanding amongst people of different provinces had been achieved and he urged that the Congress should develop a greater continuity and strength in its activities. It will thus be seen that during this period of his public career Tilak appreciated the work of the Congress and had no reasons of serious dissatisfaction with its achievement except that he slowly began to press forward the idea of making the Congress a mass organisation.

5. The *Kesari*, August 6th 1895.
6. *The Kesari*, January 7th, 1896.

CHAPTER VII

HINDU-MUSLIM TENSION: 1893-1894

The Hindu-Muslim riots that took place in Bombay, Poona, Yeola and some other places in the Bombay Presidency in 1893-94 marked a new phase in the public life of the province. There were earlier riots in 1850 and 1874 in Bombay between the Parsees and the Muslim communities. The first riot was the result of Muslims taking objection to Prophet Muhammad published by a Parsee editor in his paper. The 1874 riots were the sequel of a publication, by a Parsee author, of a translation of passages from Washington Irving's remarks about the Prophet. Both these riots were checked with some difficulty and in the latter, military aid also had to be sought.

The Bombay riots, which commenced on the 11th August 1893 and went on for four days, were largely on account of a reason which was not local. Earlier, there were Hindu-Muslim riots in Prabhasapattan in Junagad State and emissaries of both the communities had come to Bombay for aid. Meetings were held by local leaders and on the 11th of August without any warning Muslims with lathis issued from the Jumma Masjid near Crawford market and attacked the Mahadeva temple in Hanuman Lane. The reason of this attack was later on given out that on the same day the Hindus had offended the Muslims by their instrumental music in this temple which was near the Masjid, as it was the *Divasar* day holy to Gujarati Hindus. The party which issued from the Masjid was held up by the police and driven back to the

Masjid. But in the meantime, simultaneously the Muslims in other localities rose and not only attacked the Hindus but some temples also were desecrated. On the next day the Hindus retaliated and had their turn of attacking Muslims. The riots continued for two days and military aid had to be requisitioned even from outside. More than 60 people were killed, and 300 to 350 wounded and 1,200 persons were rounded up for participating in the riots.

Tilak took up the discussion of the question in the *Kesari* (15 August). He deplored the inability of the Bombay Police to cope with the riots. He put the initial responsibility of the riots on the Muslim community and rejected the suggestion of Police Commissioner Vincent and of the *Times of India* that the riots might likely have been due to the cow-protection movement. He rather ascribed the origin of the riots to the universal belief amongst Muslims, that Government was afraid of them and therefore would not side with the Hindus in the matter of any such riots. If Muslims had grown truculent, the principal reason of it was encouragement given by Government.

"That the Hindus of Bombay have been exasperated is neither due to religious fanaticism or thoughtlessness, but purely in self-defence. They waited for a day; they could not get protection from police and then they had to take resort to retaliation for self-protection; the Hindus were not the first to begin the riots and if Government aid had arrived in time, no Hindu would have dared to take to violence."

There had been no historic reason for the feeling of the Muslims and there was no possibility of such riots in the Bombay Presidency if the British Government or its

officials did not boost the Muslims up unnecessarily. He suggested that high-placed officials like Lord Harris should put an end to the direct or indirect incitements of the Muslims by some officers who felt that the good of the British *Raj* lies in a continued illwill between the Hindu and Muslim communities.

Tilak pursued consideration of the subject in succeeding weeks. He urged on Government to consider in dispensing justice in respect of participants in riots, the fact as to who took the lead in commencing riots and who took to violence sheerly in self-defence.

"The Hindu did not of their own accord attack others; but it is a piece of good fortune that the Hindus, in any case, the Marathas have not developed that type of cowardice which would ask them to suffer meekly the miseries inflicted by others without retaliation."

The only way, he suggested for continued goodwill and unity amongst the two communities was the consciousness of each others' strength. The remedy for preventing such unfortunate happenings was to give full liberty to each community to act according to their religious practices and if one of them tries to obstruct the other in the legitimate exercise of their rights, exemplary punishment should follow. Perfect objectivity and impartiality in justice were the only means for the establishment of peace between different communities. Regarding Lord Harris' advice to the leaders of the respective communities that they should try to keep their communities in check, Tilak said that there was really a third party in such happenings and in addition to the Hindus and Muslims the Government were the third party.

"In view of the fact that there are certain customs and practices in each community wholly repugnant to the other, definite rules have to be established regarding the free exercise of such customs and should be firmly enforced. For instance, if a Muslim kills a cow in a Hindu Mohalla or if a Hindu tries to rescue a cow by force from a Muslim butcher, both of them must be penalised.'

He also suggested to the respective communities to tender their suggestions in this matter freely.

A public meeting of the Hindus was held on the 10th day of August in Poona to express the opinion of the Hindu community. Some leaders in Bombay including Ranade felt diffident about the wisdom of holding such a meeting and Ranade sent a message of disapproval to be read at the meeting. This resulted in a conflict of views between Tilak and Ranade. The resolutions that were ultimately passed at the meeting were themselves innocuous. They expressed its sense of gratitude to Her Majesty the Queen Empress for her message of sympathy in connection with the recent disturbances in Bombay; regretted the breach of amicable relations between the Hindus and Muhammadans in Bombay and thanked Lord Harris for insisting on toleration and charity as the best means for maintaining mutual relations; stated that the meeting firmly believed that the movement for the due protection of cows had not led, and cannot lead, to any estrangement of feeling between Hindus and Muhammadans; that in its opinion 'the regrettable riots that have of late unfortunately become so frequent are traceable to the absence of any authoritative exposition of policy for the guidance of Government officials in such matters, to the want of authoritative record, for reference, of existing religious and social

rights, privileges and to mistaken notions, calculated to set one race against another, about the equal and impartial protection of law guaranteed to all Her Majesty's subjects by the Queen's Proclamation of 1858; and prayed that Government may be pleased to institute an independent enquiry into the causes of these riots generally, with a view to provide machinery for the amicable settlement of any disputes that might hereafter arise between the two brother communities that had lived without any such breach for several centuries. Tilak was blamed by Anglo-Indian papers and some other journals for holding the meeting. He reiterated his stand by saying that the Hindu community had to tender its opinion regarding the reasons of the Hindu Muslim riots and said that the Muslims were also free to do so. He took to task Ranade for his disapproval. Ranade was aware of the resolution some days before the actual meeting and it was surprising that some people including Pherozeshah Mehta should have misled themselves about this matter.

"Rao Bahadur Ranade is serene, serious, thoughtful and experienced, we acknowledge all that; but we do not believe that his opinions are or must be always right. We shall accept Rao Bahadur's advice if we think it to be right, otherwise not. That has been our previous practice and that we are following now. As Rao Bahadur has been bound by silver chains, we cannot say that his opinions on political matters might always be to our good."

Adverting to the duties of the leaders, he said:

"The leaders are not masters but the servants of the people; so long as the opinion of the leaders is not much different from the peoples', they are respected. But if a leader's standpoint is entirely different from the

peoples', then on that particular issue at least there has to be a divorce between the two."

And he said that the public meeting was held to convey the popular reaction to the Government. He further urged a thorough enquiry into the causes of the riots.

"With the extension of public education, it is possible that minatory measures may be progressively unnecessary, but till then definite rules have to be evolved about matters like cow killing, procession of *taboots* and the like, in view of the rights of respective communities and compliance with such rules should be firmly enforced".

The Bombay disturbances were followed by others in different places of the Presidency during 1893 and 1894, the first of them occurring in Yeola, where, at the time of a Hindu religious procession, orders were issued prohibiting playing of music within 15 steps on either side of the local mosque and prohibiting Muslims from congregating there at that time. The procession was abandoned as a protest against the restrictions and a boycott was declared by the Hindus on the Muslims but later on withdrawn on a threat by the District Magistrate. Even the *Times of India* found fault with the indifference of the officials on this occasion. The discord which existed between the two communities again found expression in February 1894. Consequent on the attack on the Maruti Temple by the Muslims, the rumour spread that a pig was thrown into the Masjid and there were serious riots. But most of those that were arrested were Hindus, including the Municipal Vice-President and other well-to-do citizens; but later on they were acquitted by the Court which tried them. There was a meeting of leaders of both communities but to no avail.

The Hindus completely dissociated themselves from the Muslims in all daily activities and they refused to recede unless they were assured freedom with regard to their customary rights and protection from Muslims. Ultimately punitive police were posted at Yeola.

There were premonitions of coming disturbances in Poona itself. At the time of a Hindu religious procession on the 20th April restrictions were imposed on playing of music not only before a Masjid but also in front of a gymnasium. The Hindus had decided not to take out the procession, but an overzealous devotee put up a new procession and passed the gymnasium with music, but no untoward event happened. The same procession was obstructed near a tomb by Muslims who objected to the playing of music. Brickbats were exchanged and a Hindu was belaboured after the procession had passed. It was on this occasion that a spontaneous feeling spread amongst the Hindu community that they should not participate in Muslim festivals like the Muharram. The same feeling spread to Bombay and other parts and Hindus found an outlet for their enthusiasm in the Ganapati festival which began to be celebrated on a larger public scale from this year. Further trouble arose at the time of the Nagpanchami procession. It was decided that the procession should be conducted according to old custom; but suddenly the Police Superintendent promulgated the rule that music should not be played for 40 steps on either side of the mosque. The procession was therefore abandoned near the mosque and the people who had left the idol on the street were convicted and fined for obstructing the road.

Then came the Ganapati festival. Singing parties were organised in this ten-day festival and one of the *melas* was passing near a Masjid with only a harmonium playing in accordance with the police orders. A party of Muslims with lathis issued from the Masjid and attacked the *mela*. One of the leaders, Tatya Saheb Natu, had to be removed to hospital. Hindus from other parts hurried to the scene, entered the Masjid, broke the lamps and the furniture and attacked the Muslims. The police came later. 15 persons were arrested. A Muslim who was hurt died in hospital. The same day, two other Ganapatis were broken in broad day and there were minor skirmishes on the next day. No further disturbance followed. The persons arrested were put on trial and the principal case against 13 persons was decided on the 29th October in which all the accused were acquitted. There were some minor cases in which most of the accused were acquitted.

There was a public meeting on the 1st December, in which resolutions were passed protesting against the rules being framed about playing of music under the existing law, and that custom should be taken into consideration in such matters. Just at this time an incident happened in Wai which attracted attention. There also orders were issued prohibiting the playing of music before a mosque contrary to earlier customs. But the Hindu leaders decided to abide by those orders. But an irresponsible person chose to be overzealous and he went on striking cymbals. The surprising sequel was that not only was he proceeded against, but in addition 11 other respectable citizens of Wai were held up and

sentenced to imprisonment extending over 3 weeks to a month.

The curtain was rung down for the time being on the controversy arising out of the Hindu-Muslim disturbances with an incident at Dhulia during the Ganapati festival in 1895. There were rumours that there might be disturbances when the procession passed the local Masjid. The Collector himself was present when about 400 Muslims rushed out of the Masjid as the procession came near and began stoning the Collector himself. One of them tried to push him inside the Masjid. There was no alternative but to open fire and 4 Muslims were killed and 28 injured by police firing.

All the incidents mentioned above were subjects of comment by Tilak in the columns of the *Kesari*. After the Bombay riots, he proposed that a Commission of inquiry should be instituted to go into the causes of these disturbances. The cow protection movement was of a modern origin. It had nothing to do with the disturbances at Prabhasapattan. Some compromise formula could be evolved regarding cow killing. The real fact, according to Tilak, was that the recent ill-feeling between the two communities must be due to some other reasons. The natural mental outlook between the two communities could be eliminated only by wider spread of education amongst Muslims and of a spirit of toleration in the Muslim religious outlook. That was a long-term process; but in the meantime the only sure way of peace would be to find out the fundamental causes, arrive at a certain method of resolving differences and to firmly enforce Government orders issued as a result of objective decisions.

While commenting on the Government resolution regarding the Bombay riots (16th January 1894) Tilak agreed with the appreciation of the work of the Police and Military authorities in quelling the riots, but deprecated the suggestion that the police force in Bombay should be increased in view of the possibility of a large number of millhands participating in such riots.

"What should the Hindus do", asked Tilak, "when the police could not establish order? They had to go out with lathis in hand in a body and the mill labourers do that work and in doing so not only do they not do anything improper but in a way help the Government in quelling the disturbances."

Tilak also disapproved of the opinion of Government that Muslims are getting less and less of a chance under the British regime while the Hindu influence is getting more powerful and this feeling leads the lower class in the Muslim community towards such disturbances. He controverted with equal force some observations made by Principal Beck of the Aligarh Muslim College. In the course of those observations Beck had said that the Congress had been founded to drive out the British from India and that the *Gorakshan* movement had its origin in teasing the Muslims and denying their legitimate food to the British and Muslims and that the Bombay disturbances were the indirect result of the agitation by the Hindus for political rights. He went on further and prophesied that it is likely that such disturbances may also happen in the future as a result of congress activities. Tilak retorted that the Congress had been fighting for rights which will be equally beneficial to both the communities and did not sponsor the cause of any particular community.

Tilak's general attitude in respect of all the questions that arose out of the Hindu-Muslim differences was that certain equitable decisions should be arrived at by Government in respect of matters of controversy. Each community should be allowed to exercise its public rights without restraint except where required by reason or custom and whatever rules are made should be applicable equally to both the communities. The leaders of both the communities should be taken into confidence in arriving at a decision. Proper decisions in such matters could only be arrived at by a correct analysis of the reasons underlying the disturbances.

Analysing the causes, the Government of India in their despatch to the Secretary of State in December 1893 had given four reasons for the recent increase in riots. Firstly, the speedy means of communications resulted in the quick spread of news and the discussion in the newspapers and meetings, thus making administration difficult. Tilak replied that it was a fact that there was greater discussion of official acts and a frank exposure of official deficiencies as a result of writings and speeches and therefore administration could not go on irresponsibly as before, but that could not be held to be a reason of aggravating the disturbances. The second reason propounded was that the Muslims were getting jealous of the power and prestige that the Hindus were enjoying during the British regime and therefore their minds were prejudiced against Hindus. Tilak retorted that it was only in the lower cadre of the Services that Hindus were employen in some numbers, but so far as higher posts are concerned both the communities were wholly excluded to make room for the Britishers. The third reason mentioned

in the Government despatch was that the revivalist movement amongst the Hindus and the importance being attached to the Cow Protection Leagues have resulted in increasing Hindu-Muslim tension. To this Tilak replied that the respect of the cow was now very long standing and the reform movements amongst the Hindus were much amongst the educated classes. Tilak himself partially agreed that in the earlier Hindu-Muslim regimes the rights of the other communities were wholly disregarded. But the Queen's Proclamation had assured protection to the observance of the rights and customs by the various communities, and therefore it was the duty of the Governor, the Governor-General and their Executive Councillors to arrive at farsighted and statesmanlike decisions, after full consideration, regarding problems arising out of cow killing or in respect of public processions and the like. He, however, deplored the fact which he said was obvious from the Despatch, that there was no statesman in India at that time who could take a long-term view and by removing the Hindu-Muslim tension would bring stability to the British Government.

A new turn was sought to be given to this controversy by a contribution by Sir William Hunter in the *London Times*. He observed during the course of his article that the Muslims of Poona were a poor lot with no unpeaceful tendencies, that there was mutual friendship between them and the Hindus who used to participate freely in the Muharram festivals, that the Hindus abandoned their participation in the Muharram as a result of preachings by Brahmin newspapers and the starting of Ganapati festivals and that many from amongst the Sardars in Maharashtra organised singing parties and

took them deliberately in procession in front of mosques and one of them took one such *mela* at midnight in front of a mosque at a time when Muslims had gathered for prayers. Tilak replied that there was nothing unnatural in the Hindus organising their own festivals and eschewing the *Muharram* when they found that their saint's procession was dishonoured and that what the singing party in question did was that it had passed the mosque in the same manner as other *melas*. As will be observed later on, Sir William Hunter was giving expression to the same type of views as were reported by the Police to Government and as Tilak observed, Hunter must have relied for his information from Government sources. Perhaps this was an attempt by Government officials concerned to justify their stand in respect of the Hindu-Muslim controversy.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GANAPATI AND SHIVAJI FESTIVALS

(i) *The Ganapati Festival*

One of the off-shoots of the Hindu-Muslim friction of 1893-94 was the Ganapati festival which was revived in a new form. God Ganapati is the embodiment of knowledge according to traditions in Maharashtra and almost every Hindu home in Maharashtra celebrates the 4th day in the bright half of the Hindu month Bhadrapada of the lunar calendar as a day devoted to this God. An image of Ganapati, who is also known as the Elephant God, because his head is conventionally made like that of an elephant, is worshipped on that day. According to traditions the festival lasts for 10 days and on the final day the image which is made of clay is immersed in a well or tank after a formal procession. This festival was celebrated with great pomp and splendour in noble-men's families in olden days in Maharashtra. Prior to the period we are speaking about, some sections of the Hindus participated in numbers in the Muslim Muharram festival; but on account of an obstruction to a procession in honour of a Maharashtra saint in 1893 in Poona, it struck some one to celebrate the Ganapati festival in such a manner as to attract the attention of Hindus and to wean them from the Muharram festival. The festival assumed a public character for the first time in 1893, but it was in 1894 that the festival took really an organised shape.

As usual, Tilak instinctively realised the possibilities of developing such a festival for the good of the community and of the country. Writing about the Ganapati festival in 1894,[1] he congratulated the various sections of the community, the weavers, the potters, the goldsmiths, the merchants and carpenters and the others on the excellent manner in which the festival was celebrated.

"During the last fortnight", he wrote, "all the roads in Poona were crowded with people in the night. Every lane had its own public Ganapati and all possible decorations were made. The Brahmins of course gave their help to the best of their ability; but the particular point to be noted is that it was the Marathas who largely helped to make the festival a success. The excellent arrangement of the *Melas* (musical and singing parties) was fascinating. . . The attractive dresses in the *Melas*, the parties marching in disciplined steps, the delightful voice of the singers, the songs full of devotion, the notes of the songs full of praise for our religion, and the enthusiasm of the heroic zeal of our Maratha brethren and their magnificent flags—all these were conspicuous at numerous places; we are happy to note that inspite of the ravings of the Christian Missionaries and the atheist reformers, the core of our society, viz., the Marathas is sound so far as our religion is concerned. Our minds derived the same satisfaction as one who finds that the foundations of the supporting pillars are sound in a building which was showing cracks."

He expressed appreciation of the fact that the festival passed off smoothly on account of the excellent support rendered by the Collector with his impartial, foresighted and generous-minded outlook. Describing the procession on the final day he said:

"It was 2 o'clock and according to prefixed arrangements all the Ganapatis from the various lanes met to-

1. The *Kesari*, September 18th, 1894.

gether and proceeded towards the Reay Market. Ganapatis from the surrounding villages also joined. Who could adequately describe the scene? Everywhere it was Ganapati. Loud acclamations were heard in every direction, the auspicious red powder was on every head, the rhythm and the combination of different musical instruments created a peculiar effect on the mind. The whole streets, from start to finish, were so full as not to leave room for an ant to move. The house-tops were alive with spectators; this was a sight for a novelist to describe."

The spectators and devotees were full of indescribable joy. He also specially noted that all sections of the Hindu community had unreservedly and voluntarily joined in making the festival a success.

There could be no doubt that the original Ganapati festival was religious; while this and the succeeding celebrations served to bring the various sections of the Hindu community together on one platform, progressively, a national shape was given to it. In succeeding years advantage was taken of the occasion for lectures on the various topics of national importance. The Ganapati festival thus begun in 1893, has continued without break in Maharashtra uptil the present day. Though the festival originated as a Hindu festival, it is typical of Tilak that he did not turn it into a revivalist function. He gave it a national character. In fact, though Tilak had strong views about Hindu philosophy and religion, he did not allow religious or communal considerations to cloud his vision of developing a true national outlook.

(ii) *The Shivaji Festival*

There was another festival which came into prominence which Tilak promoted during this period and

that was the Shivaji festival. The origin of the festival was that in the year 1883, Justice James Douglas published his "Book of Bombay" in which he made a reference to Shivaji. Amongst other things he said that no one now cared for Shivaji. In the meantime an enthusiast named Joshi visited Raigarh and had an estimate made for Rs. 45,000 for a memorial on the *Samadhi*. But this question lay still for about 10 years till a Parsi writer, Karkaria, read a learned essay on Pratapgad Fort before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in April 1894. He also defended Shivaji against the charge of perfidy in killing the Mughal General, Afzul Khan, in the course of an interview in that Fort. It was after that that fresh interest was created in this regard and the movement gathered momentum. After some individual efforts on collection of subscriptions, there was a public meeting in Hirabagh in Poona with the approval of Ranade who suggested a permanent fund. Some princes also took a keen interest in the matter. Tilak wrote a considered article in the *Kesari* on the 2nd of July and referred to collections being made in various places in Maharashtra for helping the Poona Committee established in the above-mentioned meeting. He discussed the various suggestions made for a suitable memorial and referred to an earlier estimate of twenty to twenty-five thousand rupees. He also suggested that after meeting this expenditure suitable arrangement should be made for annual festivals and for statues and memorials. The total expenditure for both the memorial and festivals etc., were to the tune of a lakh of rupees and till then Rs. 1,600 were actually collected. It should be noted that Anglo-Indian journals like the *Times of India* raised unneces-

sary objections to such a popular effort for the Shivaji Memorial.

The first Shivaji Memorial festival was organised in 1896 at Rayagad which Tilak himself attended. There was again another festival in 1900 and the third one in 1906. The celebrations took the form of annual meetings on the 3rd of the bright half of Vaisakh, which was Shivaji's birthday. But funds were sluggish in coming. The question was revived after Tilak was released from prison in 1898. The movement spread to other places in 1905. In 1906, as referred to above, there were large scale celebrations at Rayagad and Tilak again attended with his colleagues. The then Governor of Bombay, Lord Lamington, visited the Fort in June and later made a grant of Rs. 5,000 - for the proper repairs of the *Samadhi*. In the same year there was also a celebration in distant Calcutta in which Ashwini Kumar Dutta and Surendra Nath Banerjea participated. It will thus be seen that the Shivaji festival, which started first as a purely Maratha festival, later on assumed a national character. It was natural that this should have happened, as Shivaji was looked upon as a national hero who had fought for independence. The festival was at no time allowed to deteriorate into a communal festival.

The national importance of such festivals was elaborated by Tilak in two special articles in the *Kesari* (1st and 8th September 1896). In this connection he referred to the Olympic festivals in Greece in which all sections of Greeks participated and which helped in the national solidarity of the Greek people. He also referred to the great place which the *Tara* festival occupied in Ireland. The Independence Day celebrations in the

United States, he said, were also meant to sustain the national consciousness amongst the Americans.

"Here, in India, as religion occupied a vital place in the life of the people, our festivals normally assumed in the past a religious character; but the object was essentially to keep the religious instinct of the people alive and in addition the occasions were utilised as a means of educating the people in the moral, social and political spheres. In recent history, both before and after Shivaji, similar festivals and *jatras* were held when people in the thousands gathered in a devotional atmosphere. Saints like Eknath also participated in such festivals. It was also Saint Ramdas who started the *Ramnavami* festival. These festivals helped largely in the galvanization of the Maratha people and it was this strength that enabled them to meet the fierce attacks of the armies of Aurangzeb. In fact the *Jatras* of olden times were huge exhibitions of the religious, industrial and social activities of the people .. In brief, a national festival is one of the principal means of the all-round development of the Nation."

Tilak therefore deprecated the adverse comments that were being made by some of our own people under the garb of nationalism. He called upon the educated people particularly to take a leading part in the organisation of such festivals. At many places such festivals were already being held; they should be organised on fully national lines.

"This work is not as strenuous or expensive as the work of the Congress, but the educated people can achieve results through these national festivals which it would be impossible for the Congress to achieve. Why should you not give the shape of huge mass meetings to the bigger *jatras?* Will it not be possible for political activities to enter the humblest cottages of the villages through these festivals? Will it not thus be possible to

make available to our illiterate countrymen in the villages the moral and the religious education which you have got after strenuous efforts? .. We sometimes complain that people do not attend the Congress in as large numbers as for religious discourses; but where do we want to go to where the people naturally gather? Our ancestors have created natural opportunities for people to get together. But, for our educated people, these opportunities are as nothing. They are proud of the fact that they are educated. Their main difficulty is how to mix with the people. .. There is no greater folly than the educated people thinking themselves to be a different class from the average society. The educated belong to the people. They can only swim or sink with the people. They cannot be without society. . . We therefore request that the educated people should realise their duty in this matter and act accordingly."[2]

The above extract from Tilak's article discloses very vividly his vision, both about the true function of national festivals and the necessity of all sections of society coming together on the national platform. Both these festivals, though not originating with Tilak, were so much fostered by him that his name has always been rightly associated with the activities held under their auspices and during the days of renewed national rejuvenation which followed the Bengal partition, Tilak was always found lecturing to the audiences at various places during these festivals. In fact, it can be said with confidence that the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals have contributed substantially towards the building up a national life in Maharashtra and in some other areas which also followed its good example.

2. The *Kesari*, September 8th, 1896.

(iii) *Official Reaction*

It will be interesting to examine the reaction on the official world of the vigorous criticism in the public Press and the course of events during the period. Col. Macpherson, the District Police Superintendent, Poona, reporting on the riots of 1894 said that:

"The more aggressive portion of the Hindu faction had evidently by pre-arrangement determined to provoke a riot on this night. The means selected was the *mela* under the leadership of Hari Ram Chandra Natu, otherwise known as Tatia Saheb. There was nothing to bring this *mela* in the direction of the bridge, as Mr. Natu lives in a distant part of the city. But under the pretence of visiting Mr. Hari Raoji the *mela* was brought past the Mosque."

Having given his version of the happenings near the Mosque, he proceeded,

"I fear that we are only at the beginning of our trouble and that a severe lesson will have to be given to those persons who wantonly disturb the public peace before they are brought to their senses. . . . The Poona native Press is the organ of that section of Hindu community who are responsible for the present disturbed state and these false accounts of events are purposely inserted with the object of causing discontent elsewhere, they carrying far more weight and being more generally believed in than is usually supposed."

Mr. Omani, District Magistrate, said:

"The fire was being deliberately fanned by the editors of most of the Hindu newspapers in Poona and pamphlets and verses of an inflammatory character

published by Hindus. All the Hindus sympathise with the movement which is in progress for consolidating Hindu sentiment of which Hindu-Muhammadan quarrel is but one phase...there are firebrands among them, and ...it is to persons falling in the latter category that the recent incendiary proceedings are to be traced. The majority of responsible Hindus disapprove these proceedings and would be content with peaceful measures. None has the courage to proclaim disapproval. So the movement gathers head and threatens further trouble."

In forwarding this report, Mr. Portious, the Commissioner for the Central Division, after alluding to the "sole direct responsibility of the Brahmin community of Poona" said that native newspapers instead of confining themselves to misrepresenting Government and Government officers having taken to preaching what he might term a religious crusade and objectionable leaflets were being circulated in the city through even the schools. He added:

"I regard the alleged motives to unite Hindus in defence of their religion against Mahomedanism and to embitter for the time the relations between two races as not the real ones . . . My convictions lead me to support the view widely entertained in Poona by the more respectable natives that the agitation fomented by the Deccanee Brahmans is directed in reality not against the Mahomedans but against the Government. Their pretended earnestness on behalf of the Hindu religion is only a blind ... I do not say that the whole Brahman community has set itself actively to embarrass the Government by every means it can and to spread sedition but this I do say that a considerable minority is working deliberately with this end in view, while the well disposed stand looking on weak-kneed and helpless and wondering when Government will interfere."

During the next year (1895) Mr. B. Ramachandra Natu's name was removed from the bench of honorary magistrates. Mr. Portious considered him to be: "one of the most unscrupulous and dangerous political and religious agitators in Poona, ... ultra orthodox and specially bigoted." He believed him to have been deeply concerned in "if not at the bottom of the proceedings taken by the Hindus and used subsequent to the last Muharram ..... and to have been one of the moving spirits in arranging and carrying out the Ganapati processions last September and that in a way deliberately and of set purpose calculated to inflame" and also mentioned him as the "prime mover for the disturbances of 12th September".*

He also referred to the elder Natu's action in excluding non-Hindus from the Parvati temple and his part within the last few months in the political and cow protection meetings—"his ulterior object in agitating as he does is beyond doubt to foster discontentment with the Government." In a later report the then Superintendent of Police Mr. Kennedy observed, (1896):

"I am not sanguine that further disturbances will not take place unless the agitators are made to understand that the authorities .... are ready to deal effectively with those who defy the lawful authority .... By means of inflamatory matter in native papers a good deal is done .... to create a feeling of discontent. Once the music question is played out, some new agitation is sure to be started."

On the same occasion Mr. Spence wrote that,

"It has become the aim and object of certain Brahmin agitators to make sores between the ignorant sections of both religions and then create disturbances,

the result of which causes irritation and disaffection against Government." He mentioned among the leaders, Tilak, Nam Joshi and Natu. "This clique of Poona Brahmins has, I believe, its emissaries and correspondents in various places who work with and for the body at headquarters .... that there is disaffection in the native press, it is impossible to deny and mentioned the *Native opinion*, the *Poona Vaibhava*, the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari* as leading the disaffection mentioned" "In more than one article", he said: "resort to rebellion and force has been advocated with sympathetic reference to the mutiny of 1857."

The above mentioned extracts from the reports of officers, responsible for law and order, show their mental approach towards the activities of Tilak and others who took a prominent part in the Hindu-Muslim controversy as well as questions that arose later. With this background it is easy enough to understand the measures that they took which tended towards the placation of the Muslim community in preference to the Hindus. It also shows how effective the Poona Press had become during a very short time. What happened in 1893 and subsequent years was an unfamiliar phenomenon to the official world who till then were passing through placid times and even awakened public opinion was moderate and public leaders were content with making representations to the Government in matters of public importance. They must also have watched how Tilak and his colleagues were gathering influence with the people. For the first time they were face to face with a Press which wrote forcefully whatever it thought and specially about the acts of all officials however

highly placed they might be. In fact it was during the years commencing with 1893 that bureaucracy found itself face to face with a hold, fearless and incorruptible leadership. But inspite of such reports, the Provincial Government, for the time being, thought it proper to hold its hand which descended heavily, as we shall see later, in 1897.[3]

3. This section is based on Confidential Proceedings, Home Department, 1897, Part B, for October, No. 57, on 'Detailed information on which action was taken in connection with the Poona Tragedy'.

CHAPTER IX

THE FAMINE AND THE PLAGUE: 1896-1897

The year 1896 was memorable in the history of the Deccan for the misfortunes it had to suffer. One was famine and the other was a virulent incidence of the plague epidemic. Apart from the heavy toll in loss of life, it brought also the disaster of the stringent measures adopted by Government for its eradication. It was clear towards the end of the year, that the Deccan districts, like some other parts of India, were in the grip of a severe famine. During the famine of 1876, Government had not yet evolved the Famine Code which contained provisions for the amelioration of the sufferings caused by famine. As soon as it was evident that famine conditions began to prevail, Tilak took up the cause of the suffering people and while on the one hand, he urged them to take full advantage of the Famine Code, he called upon the Government to give relief in all possible ways to ameliorate the sufferings caused by the famine. He reminded Government of its promise not to allow any sufferers to die on account of famine, to throw open the forests for cattle grazing, to arrange for works for giving employment and sustenance to the people, to open free feeding houses, to give suitable employment to artisans like the weavers, to arrange for the upkeep of orphans—all these were provided for in the Famine Code. With a view to acquaint the people with their rights, he published a summary of the provisions of the Famine Code in the columns of the *Kesari.* He urged that the amount of grant that was given as

daily wages was insufficient for the sustenance of the people affected by famine. He called upon the local leaders to take up the cause and to try to get the necessary relief for the people concerned. He later appreciated the relief given by the Government by way of throwing open the jungles for starving cattle and their proposals to start relief works in some of the districts. He also reminded Government of the clear provision in the Famine Code, that the assessments due should not be realised by the sale of cattle or land. He urged upon the people to approach the Collectors of the districts with a request for a suspension or remission of land revenue, for giving employment through relief works and to give *tagai* loans to the agriculturists and for the opening of cheap grain shops. He instanced the case of certain places where popular famine committees had been started for canalising requests for the necessary relief. He appealed to the people to have such organisations for every Taluka or village. He said that there was a great responsibility resting on the shoulders of the taluka leaders and pointed out the importance of local leaders pointing out, on the spot, the grievances of the respective areas. He said that officials are likely to be displeased by such efforts, but he urged upon the organisers not to be frightened by such displeasure and not budge even if such efforts lead to the prison. In the *Kesari* of 29th December he took up the question of suspension or remission of land revenue where failure of the crops was more than 10 or 11 annas in the rupee. At the same time, he warned people to be accurate in their information.

Tilak kept up this educative and agitative propaganda through the columns of the *Kesari* and the

Sarvajanik Sabha under his guidance, sent its agents—some of them highly educated and responsible—into the talukas and villages to collect reliable information and to educate people in the matter of their rights. Unhappily one of these agents circulated a leaflet containing wrong guidance regarding the entitlement to relief in land revenue and Government took advantage of this inaccuracy in the leaflet and dis-recognised Sarvajanik Sabha thus preventing it from making any representation to the Government. Three prosecutions were lodged against the agents, in one of which the trial resulted in a conviction; in the other two trials the accused were acquitted. One of the meetings addressed by an agent of the Sabha was watched by the Assistant Collector and was surrounded by police constables with loaded rifles. Tilak commented severely the way in which this meeting was watched by the revenue officers and the police party.

"Where the crops have really failed", he wrote, "the people should resolve not to pay the land revenue in accordance with the provisions of the Famine Relief Code. Government officials will not hesitate to realise land revenue by taking recourse to prosecutions like at Junnar or by threats or even occasional firing but the people should remember that such is neither the desire of the Queen nor the Law as it stands. Under the circumstances, the people must resolve to secure the fullest relief provided by law even at the risk of losing their lives and the local leaders should help the people in arriving at such a resolve .... We are quite sure that people will respond to our request and say Amen to our suggestion."[1]

1. The *Kesari*, December 15th, 1896.

Tilak was not content with mere criticism. He enabled the leaders at Sholapur to evolve a constructive schemes for giving relief to the local weavers. The idea was to give employment to about a thousand families by creating an organisation which would give yarn to the weavers and sell the products of their labour. This required financial investment and it was estimated that about 2½ lakhs of rupees would be necessary; but the Government refused to render this financial aid even as a loan, on the ground that it would not be able to give such financial aid towards the working of a private organisation. Tilak further organised setting up of cheap grain shops by the merchants in Poona. Tilak's activities in the matter of famine relief, while strengthening the cause of the people and creating an awakening in distant talukas and villages, roused the Government to further anger, but, like all other activities that he undertook, he never worried whether his work brought pleasure or displeasure to the official world.

As stated above, the other misfortune which befell Maharashtra and specially Poona was the bubonic plague which first took its toll in Bombay. It appeared that the plague started first in Hongkong and from there infection travelled to Bombay. It was the first time of its visitation in India in recent times and even experts did not know either the source or the remedy for this fell epidemic. It first started its nefarious course in the thickly populated area of Mandvi in Bombay. From Bombay the infection spread to other places in the Bombay Province.

The first cases in Poona were detected early in October. By the beginning of February 1897, the daily

number of plague cases rose up to a little more than 100. The first thing that Tilak did was to give a full analysis of the history of the epidemic and its incidence in India and outside countries and called upon the municipalities at principal cities like Poona, Nasik, Baroda, Surat and Ahmedabad to take the necessary precautions, and to encourage cleanliness in the cities and in individual homes and the doctors to examine the various cases very carefully.

The Government of Bombay thought of taking urgent measures for the control of the epidemic and for the prevention of its spread. It appears that the appearance of the epidemic at Bombay roused a scare in foreign countries. There was a Conference in Venice about this matter and there was an apprehension that foreign countries might cease to have any exports from Bombay and the Secretary of State wrote to the Government of India urging urgent action. On the 4th of February 1897, the Epidemic Disease Act was passed by the Central Legislature empowering the Government of India and the Governors of various Provinces with special powers for taking necessary measures. These powers enabled Government to search the steamships entering in or departing from the Indian ports, to place restrictions of passengers and freight carried by such ships, and to search any passenger travelling by railways and to keep people suffering from this infection in special hospitals arranged for this purpose.

While appreciating the rationale of segregation for the prevention of the spread of the epidemic, Tilak emphasised the futility of such a measure once the epidemic has spread. "Though segregation is very useful

from the scientific point of view, the misunderstanding about hospitals current amongst the people, the arrangement in the hospitals, the way in which the officials behave with the patients, these many reasons make it nearly impossible to bring segregation into effective practice. The notion that hospitals are a place for killing the patients has firmly rooted itself in the minds of the people and this is obvious from the loose talk that one hears in Poona and Bombay. This loose talk is so misplaced and foolish that it is hardly necessary to repudiate it." He said that "such misunderstanding will require considerable time for the removal. Work of segregation is of such a nature, that it cannot be successfully achieved without the willing consent of the people and it appears that the official world has not realised this to a sufficient degree." In order to remove the misunderstanding of the people, Tilak wrote that he had personally visited the municipal hospital and said that the arrangements there were quite good for the lower classes. But he said that better conveniences will have to be provided for the middle and higher classes.[2]

Government appointed a special officer, Mr. Rand, for the purpose of enforcement of necessary measures in Poona City for enforcing segregation, for cleaning the houses, for arranging necessary ventilation, for the removal of residents from congested localities to better ones, for the disinfection of the rooms and clothes where there have been plague cases. But he warned the Government that harsh enforcement of such measures will defeat their purpose. The people, he said, were at the moment more afraid about the plague measures than

2. The *Kesari*, February 16th, 1897.

about plague itself and unfavourable psychological conditions also are likely to aggravate any disease. He urged that the measures necessary for the eradication and control of the epidemic should be mild in character, that movements from place to place should be adequately restricted, that private hospitals should be opened for the people, and that any measures that may be taken should be taken firmly, but taking into consideration the people and customs of the people affected. At the same time he warned the people that eradication of the epidemic in its initial stages is by removal of the patient from his house and by either burning the house or disinfecting it and asking the people to stay elsewhere till the house is so disinfected. A dangerous disease requires a severe remedy and he said that the people must behave accordingly. But all this, he said, is effective only at the time of the commencement of the disease, but once the epidemic has spread, a strict enforcement of such measures may result in oppression and misery and he deprecated the visitation of a troop of soldiers or policemen for such purpose. Like a philosopher, he said that it is true that all things happen according to divine dispensation but;

"Everyone must do all that is possible for arresting such epidemics and we are happy that Government is doing such an effort. But the Government must see to it that the people suffer as little inconvenience in such matters as possible."[3]

In an article in the *Kesari* of the 9th March he deprecated the departure from the city of people in mere panic.

3. The *Kesari*, March 2nd, 1897.

"It is a fact that till now there has been no oppression and one must say that those people who left the city in thousands were fools. It is good to stay where we are, with full faith in God, knowing fully well there is no escape from fear of death even if one goes away from the scene of epidemic."

When the actual searches of the houses in Poona began, there were some complaints of soldiers having entered into the kitchen, but he rather blamed the persons accompanying the soldiers on their remissness in not properly advising the soldiers.

"We feel happy," he said, "that the mildness in the present arrangement is the result of the goodness of the Governor and his orders."

And while he disapproved the idea of sending soldiers for the searches, he asked the people to take full advantage of the facilities given for accompanying the search party. He voiced the grievances of the people regarding the manner in which the belongings in the affected houses were burnt; but he advised the people to take their own measures for the disinfection of the rooms in which the patient has died and voluntarily destroy or burn the articles used by such a person.

It will be seen from the above, that while on the one hand, Tilak tried to educate the people and urge them to do all that they could for the eradication of the epidemic, he gave simultaneous caution to the Government officials to proceed with their work in a patient and unoppressive manner. But soon enough he had to come out with more vigorous criticism. He wrote (6th April 1897) mentioning complaints that the soldiers entered the kitchen and the God's room and some times broke open small boxes in which it is impossible to hide a patient, dead or living, of burning or destruction of

belongings not used by the deceased patient or having sent many persons into the segregation camp or to the hospital.

Tilak was not content with mere criticism. He himself accompanied the search parties. He further organised the establishment of a separate private hospital for the Hindus with the support of people of different persuasions and creeds. This brought very great relief to patients especially of the middle and higher classes for whom there was no adequate arrangement in the Government hospitals. He also arranged for free feeding in necessitous cases and such other relief as was necessary in the segregation camp. He stuck to the city during the whole period obviously at very great risk to his own life. He visited the hospitals both Government and private every day and he saw Mr. Rand and the Plague Committee Officers as many times as necessary. He organised a relief committee to look after the meals of the people in the segregation camp by way of opening shops and eating houses and ventilation of complaints about the washing of the clothes of only the people affected. The Committee also took measures to create conveniences in the camp also.

CHAPTER X

THE SEDITION TRIAL AND AFTER: 1897-1905

(i) *Signs of the storm*

The plague in Poona subsided about June; but hardly had this chapter closed, when another closely followed, bringing in its wake, the murder of two officials and Tilak's first trial and conviction for sedition. On the 12th June, commenced the Shivaji festival, and as part of that festival on that day, there was a meeting addressed by Professor Paranjpe and Professor Jinsiwale. Paranjpe chose, as his subject an ancient dictum, "Dis-satisfaction is the cause of prosperity", and Professor Jinsiwale propounded that Shivaji's exploits were not the result of personal ambitions but arose out of a desire to withstand the deterioration of the cause of *Swadesha* and *Swadharma*. Next day, a meeting was addressed by Professor Bhanu, under the presidentship of Tilak, in which he defended Shivaji against the charge of treachery in killing Afzul Khan. Jinsiwale also spoke on that day and said that Shivaji could not be held to be guilty of murder in killing Afzul Khan. On the 15th June appeared some verses containing an imaginary address of Shivaji on the existing conditions in the country. Immediately after, a correspondent of the *Bombay Times* suggested that the speeches during the festival had been full of sedition. He particularly mentioned Tilak's speech. Tilak, in a letter to the paper, explained what the real meaning of the speech was. He complained that his position both as a journalist and a

private gentleman during the time they had the plague in Poona, had been completely misrepresented both by the editor and his correspondents. He wrote:

"Now let me disabuse your mind of the idea that either the *Mahratta* or the *Kesari* wrote anything during the plague so as to incite the people to break the peace or have recourse to force."

Tilak also pointed out that the criticism of *Shackles*, another correspondent of the *Times of India*, in regard to the appointment of Vigilance Committees, was based upon a mistranslation of an article in the *Kesari*.

"It is a sheer mistake," he said, "to believe that the Native papers have excited the feeling of disaffection during the time of the plague. The Press accepted the principle (of segregation), but complained about the unnecessary harshness of its execution. You are probably aware that the Bombay Government itself anticipated dis-satisfaction, scavengers' strikes, or riots if plague measures were stringently carried out (vide Plague Blue Book), and it so telegraphed to the Secretary of State. If you blame the Native Press now, you must equally blame the Government of Bombay for openly recording their fears in a telegram which is now as much known to the public as anything said in the Native Press. Anglo-Indian journalists like yourself, can, I know, be hardly induced to take the right view of the question. But still I must state, what I honestly believe is the case, viz., that the unnecessary stringency of the plague measures and not the writings of the Native Press are responsible for the feelings of disaffection referred to by you. His Excellency Lord Sandhurst was indeed anxious to see that the plague measures were carried on with the least possible annoyance to the people. But His Excellency's wishes were little attended to by the lower executive authorities, and Government, I am sorry to say, did not exercise sufficient control over them."

"However reluctantly, I think I must", he continued, "at the risk of being called egoistic, say something as to what I did at the time. I was not satisfied simply with taunting or advising the leaders to organise *peth* (lane) committees. I myself went (with other friends, whose work, I may once for all here state, I do not wish to under-rate in any way by stating what I did personally) into a number of peths and tried to establish such committees, but found that it was not possible to do so, as most of the leading men had gone out of the town. As regards the Hindu Plague Hospital, I think I can claim a considerable share of the credit of starting and maintaining it in good order. I used to visit it twice a day, going into the different wards and making inquiries about the patients. Then, as regards the segregation camp, it was soon found that the persons taken there were greatly inconvenienced by being required to cook their own food, and that though the Plague Committee paid two annas per head per day to the poor, it was not sufficient to purchase a day's provision. Here again, I, along with other friends, had to work hard to establish a kitchen, where two regular meals were given for two annas to any one in the segregation camp. The loss, which came to about one and a half anna per head per day, was met from subscriptions raised for that purpose. In short, I tried to do all that was possible for me to make the plague measures acceptable to the people, and everything that was done, was done with the knowledge and consent of the Chairman of the Plague Committee. It was only after the plague had well nigh disappeared that I went away to Sinhagarh to take short rest. Anyone in Poona can bear witness to these facts. Such being my work, I think I am entitled to say that you are doing me sheer injustice by representing that either myself or my papers did anything to excite feelings of disaffection amongst the people. It was my firm conviction that stringent sanitary measures would do considerable good, if they would not stamp out the plague altogether; and I have not only expressed this conviction in the papers, but have done

as much as a single citizen of my position could do to practically show how people should help themselves and not blame the Plague Committee for everything."

The Diamond Jubilee of the Queen's Rule was celebrated by a big Banquet at the Government House at Poona, on the night of the 22nd June. Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst, while returning in carriages after the dinner, were shot by unknown persons during the dead of night. Ayerst immediately succumbed to his injuries and Rand died in hospital a few days later. This naturally created a great stir and panic in official circles. The news appears to have been received with unfeigned satisfaction some quarters in Poona, specially amongst the women folk. The authorities were naturally furious and some of the Anglo-Indian newspapers said that this was part of a huge conspiracy for revolution by the Brahmins. A prize of Rs. 20,000 was announced for a clue to the murder and the District Magistrate spoke in minatory words to a select audience in a meeting. He said that the time and circumstance indicated a conspiracy, that the Government would have to adopt severe measures and charged the Poona newspapers with sedition, making particular reference to the speeches during the Shivaji festival, and finally threatened that Poona would have a bad time. Punitive police were also posted in Poona. Tilak severely criticised these measures in strong and severe language. In an article on 6th July under the caption "Is the head of Government in its place?", he bitterly criticised the posting of the punitive police. In the next issue he warned the Government that "to rule is not to take revenge". He said, that Lord Sandhurst was kind by nature and his behaviour was gentlemanly, and people

had hoped that his regime might be a happy one for the people, but they were disappointed. He said that the panic was due largely to the advice of one of the two Councillors, Mr. Nugent and Sir Charles Olliphant. He said that the idea of suppressing the Brahmins of Poona, on the ground that they were cunning and mischievous, could not be Lord Sandhurst's idea. He scouted the idea of any Brahmin conspiracy behind the murder and said that the panicky activities at Poona were due either because wickedness had entered the Council of the Bombay Government or else they had lost their head. In this connection, he instanced the statement of Mr. Justice Badruddin Tyabji, that he would refuse to believe in the absence of solid evidence that educated people were responsible for the murder. He proceeded to analyse what sedition connoted, in an article on the 20th July, and he referred to an interpellation in Parliament as to whether Tilak's speeches and writings were seditious and the reply that this was a question of law and that the Government of Bombay had not arrived at any firm opinion about this. Tilak said that he was prepared to take full responsibility for the articles that had appeared in the *Kesari*.

"This was a question of law, and if it was decided against the native newspapers, we shall write only such articles as will be within the new limitations; and if the decision is in our favour, then the officials and the Anglo-Indian newspapers will have to keep quiet."

He said further that sedition really implies encouraging the people to resist the lawful authority of Government, or to bring the existence of Government into jeopardy; it does not cover legitimate criticism, however severe it might be, of actions of officials and education of the people in regard to their legitimate duties.

"Our principal duty," he said, "is to show the way for legal relief to the people by creating an awakening in their minds about the many miseries that our countrymen have to suffer, without infringing the law and fully using the knowledge which has come to us by English education. The editor of the *Kesari* has discharged his duty with sincerity and zeal to the best of his abilities. Neither his motive nor his intention is to bring about the subversion of English rule or bring it into contempt. It is our ardent desire that our people should get their legitimate rights under the ægis of English rule and that people should prosper without being oppressed."

In the meantime, the wheels of Government had begun to move. The Poona police got immediately busy with finding out possible clues to the murder. The City Magistrate and the Police Superintendent listed 17 persons[1] connected with newspapers "hostile to Government" and their supporters. Besides these, were prominently mentioned the Natu brothers, who had been

1. The list included the following; their description is given as in the original. (1) Tilak, described as being foremost in any movement or agitation which is likely to bring the people into conflict with Government and to make Government unpopular. (2) Ghotawadekar, Manager of the Saxon Press and a Member of the *Sarvajanik Sabha.* (3) Nana Bhor, a blind Mahratta pleader identifying himself with Tilak and his party and getting them the apparent support of a section of Mahrattas. (4) Baba Maharaj, a Sardar of the first class and supporter of Tilak. (5) Prof. Jinsiwale who was dismissed from the Wilson College and lately made a seditious speech at the Shivaji Commemoration and an active member of Tilak's clique. (6) Balkrishna Vaidya, a pleader and active member of the Tilak Party. (7) Vasudev Ganesh Joshi, of the Chitrashala Press, a great friend of Tilak and an agitator against Government. (8) Shridhar Vithal Date, a dismissed Mamlatdar and a man of most openly seditious character. (9) Ram Rao Jambre and Mahratta

active participants from the time of the Hindu-Muslim tension. In consultation with these officers, the Commissioner of the Central Division, who was asked by the Home Member, to make an enquiry into the matter, submitted his report (18-7-1897) in which he referred to the general tone of the native press, which, he said:

"for months, if not for years, was distinctly hostile to Government and Government measures and made open allusions to resistance by force."

He further said that since the plague operations, the hostility was more pronounced and Rand was assailed in a most bitter and uncompromising way. He summarised the position thus:

"There is a section of the community in Poona, chiefly consisting of Brahmins, which is opposed to Government. This section has many organs in the press. The leading members are well-known. The first active proceeding to embarass Government was taken by starting an agitation against cow killing which led to the riots between Hindus and Muhammadans; but this movement fell rather flat, and then the Ganapati celebration was substituted. Absolute innovations were introduced to imitate the Mohurram and bring it into ridicule, and one feature was to cause annoyance by

Patil of Poona, useful in endeavouring to secure the support of the Mahrattas to the Tilak Party and a very persistent agitator. (10) Achhutrao Sathe, a professor of the Maharashtra College. He stumped the country in order to prevent the payment of government revenue during the present famine and was prosecuted in the Kolaba district last year but discharged. (11) Bhau Jaola alias Rangare, useful to Tilak in 1895. (12) S. V. Kelkar, Editor of the *Poona Vaibhav*, a violently seditious paper. (13 & 14) V. B. Patvardhan and S. G. Devadhar, Joint Editors of *Dynan Prakash*, another paper of the same type, (Nos. 2 and 11, co-accused of Hari Natu in the Daruvala Mosque case in 1894).

playing music when passing by mosques. This led to riots in 1894 which were suppressed and music rules were promulgated. The agitation against the music rules had quite died out and the wire-pullers had found that they could not get behind the rules or persuade the people to run the risk of violating them as it had come to be perfectly understood that the rules in no way interfered with the liberties of the law-abiding citizens. Fortunately for the agitators, the famine then supervened and gave opportunity of misrepresenting the provisions of the Famine Code, both in regard to the employment and payment to labourers by Government and the payment of land revenue by the ryots. The agitation against the payment of land revenue was kept up with considerable energy but not much success. Side by side with all this the Shivaji Commemorations were gradually converted into occasions for preaching violence and resistance to Government, the doing to death of Afzul Khan by Shivaji being specially made a subject of praise and held up as an example. In the meantime the plague broke out and offered another splendid opportunity of inveighing against Government in the most malicious manner. The Press surpassed all its previous efforts and after the plague had practically disappeared and repressive measures had been relaxed for some weeks, the day of the Diamond Jubilee was selected with a fiendish malignity for murdering in cold blood the officers who had rid the city of the pestilence. .... Widespread rumours and apparently extreme consensus of public opinion has, from the very first, connected the names of Natu with the murder and two members of that family are known to belong to the party in opposition to Government. One of those members had a direct motive for personal feeling against plague measures and was heard to utter a threat of speedy vengeance against the two Chief Plague Officers. Hari Natu was released from the Segregation Camp on 18th June and Mr. Rand was murdered on the night of the 22nd. .... There is nothing but cumulative suspicion to connect the seditious Brahmin faction with the murders."

The Commissioner suggested further investigation by Mr. Brewin of the Bombay Police, who was already engaged on detective enquiries in connection with the murders, with the co-operation of both the City Magistrate and the D.S.P. He also agreed with the D.S.P. that "*if the brothers Natu, and Tilak could by any possibility be placed in custody, evidence regarding the murder would very likely soon be forthcoming. The D.S.P. was also of the opinion that if the first* 12 *men mentioned in his list could be removed from Poona and kept under restraint, the city would remain quiet for generations*" (*Italics ours*) and the Commissioner agreed with this opinion.

This report along with notes of conversations of a police officer with some chosen citizens of Poona, most of whom were supporters of Government and opponents of Tilak and his group, were placed before the Home Member. Some of these conversations indicated an opinion that Tilak and his group was in some way responsible for the murders. It appears clear that at this stage the authorities were proceeding on a vague presumption, connecting Tilak and Natu brothers with the murders, though there was not any reliable evidence forthcoming in support of such a presumption. The Home Member, after considering the pros and cons of the matter on the material available to him, was of the opinion that the circumstances of the murders had a political significance.

"The circumstances of the murder", he said, "seem to denote not only a carefully pre-concerted plan, but that a number of persons have been privy to the outrage. ....Rumours point out to one particular clique of malevolent agitators, so it was said, known to exist in Poona and the timid native gentlemen whispered that

Natu-Tilak & Co., were no doubt at the bottom of it". . . . . "A very careful examination of the Poona vernacular press articles of the last two months was undertaken, with the result that we are advised that Mr. Tilak and some others may be successfully prosecuted under Section 124A of the IPC for seditious writings and so, as regards him, the matter rests for the present. As regards the Professors and their institutions, the Education Department are considering the position."

About Tilak, he said,

"I had just heard last year (for the first time) of Mr. Tilak as a Member of the Legislative Council of good ability and bad manners and as a promoter of Shivaji Commemoration. . . . . I heard more of him recently as the Editor of mischievous newspapers which encourage discontent and disaffection. . . . . I had never heard the name of Natu or their reputed clientele until the 23rd June."

Basing, therefore, his opinion naturally on the record, he said:

"We have already resolved that the circumstances preceding, attending and succeeding the crime of 22nd June were such as to require that we should show to the community that we were in earnest in repressing such outrages and that the consequences of sympathy or apathy must be visited on the community or a section of it."

He was also of opinion that, if reasonably convinced that the restraint of certain specific persons was necessary to secure the city of Poona or the Presidency from internal commotion, proceedings under Regulation III of 1818 should be taken, though there may not be sufficient grounds to institute any judicial proceedings. After further considering the reports of the police and revenue officers in the earlier years, he said that,

"Former reports agreed with current belief that in the fore-front of that agitation (disturbing tranquillity) are Mr. Tilak and the Brothers Natu."

He recorded his final opinion that,

"for the time being, action be taken against Tilak for sedition and that the Natu brothers be detained under Regulation and further action may be taken against those of the others against whom further corroborative information may be forthcoming."

If this was the opinion of the Home Member, his other colleague, Mr. Nugent deprecated the delay in taking action. He said,

"Here, even before the murders of June 22nd, we were fully aware that, in Poona, there was a gang of disloyal and unscrupulous Brahmins, who had for many months been preaching sedition, opposition to Government, the expediency of resorting to violence and thinly veiled rebellion. We knew that these men were bitterly hostile to Mr. Rand. We, therefore, could at once lay our hands on men who were in all human probability implicated in the outrage. We could have done this after the murder. Upto this moment, as far as I know, not one of them has been touched."

He referred to the validity of the measures taken till then, for finding out the clues to the murders. He referred with impatience to the plea that,

"we should not rush things, we should not be afflicted with panic, we should proceed cautiously, we should wait until evidence is collected. .... All the water in the Ganges and the Missisipi will have run away before we capture the murderers, if we wait on the chance of procuring evidence and do nothing in the mean time .... So long as the leaders and the prime movers in the conspiracy, from Tilak and the Natus downwards, remain untouched and at large, apparently

triumphant over us, we shall get no information. *But arrest three or four of them suddenly: create a panic by a bold and unexpected step: take the offensive promptly as it should always be done with Asiatics whether in real war-fare or in a matter of this description, excite terror amongst the other accomplices lest the men apprehended should implicate them; and then we may hope that there will be a split and that informers will come forward.*" (Italics ours).

With regard to Tilak he said,

"For many months past, Tilak has been assailing the Government, its administration and its officers, from the Viceroy downward in un-measured and malevolent terms, and I fail to comprehend how it should take three weeks or three days to select from the writings of that consummate scoundrel or from those of his brother Editors, passages on which he and they could be prosecuted. I trust that some vigorous measures and resolute action may now be taken."

The Governor, however, concurred with the views expressed by the Home Member and did not consider that any unnecessary time was lost.

"I will not be a party", he said, "to arrests until and unless I consider a case is made out."

It was ultimately decided that Tilak should be prosecuted and the Natu brothers should be deported under Regulation III of 1818.[2]

About the same time as the prosecution of Tilak, action was taken for sedition against three other

2. I have drawn on the Confidential Consultations of the Government of India Home Department (1897—Public) Part B. October, No. 57, titled *Detailed Information on which action was taken in connection with the Poona tragedy*, in writing this part of the chapter.

Marathi papers—The *Poona Vaibhava,* The *Modavritta* and The *Pratod.*[3] In the first case the Editor tendered an apology; the other two resulted in conviction. The two Natu Brothers had also been deported on the 28th of July. Steps were also taken against the Deccan Education Society which ultimately agreed to change its Constitution in a manner that was acceptable to Government. But the ultimate result of these repressive measures was to strengthen the popular cause. Tilak faced the trial and conviction with the courage that had always characterised his activities. It appears that a suggestion was made to him to get out of the trouble by tendering an explanation, but Tilak made his attitude clear in a letter to Motilal Ghose:

"My position among the people", he said, "entirely depends upon my character, and if I am cowed down by the prosecution, living in Maharashtra is as good as living in the Andamans .... We are incapable of nursing any sinister feelings against the British Rule and it is thus impossible for any of us to be convicted of such a heinous charge as sedition. Such risks, however, we must take. They are the risks of our profession .... Their (Government's) object is to humiliate the Poona leaders, and I think in me they will not find a "*kutchha* reed.[4]....Then you must remember, that beyond a certain stage, we are all servants of the people. You

3. It should be noted that the papers like the *Sudharak* and *Dynan Prakash,* belonging to the group opposed to Tilak, were not prosecuted, though their comments on the Rand regime were more virulent than any published in the *Kesari* and though the names of their editors were mentioned adversely by the Poona Police.

4. He perhaps referred to Gokhale's apology for statements that he had made in England about soldiers having molested some ladies at the time of the Plague operations in Poona.

will be betraying and disappointing them if you show a lamentable want of courage at a critical time."

Referring to Tilak, when speaking on the resolution about the Natu Brothers in the Amraoti Session of the Congress, Surendra Nath Banerjea said:

"We regard the quartering of punitive police at Poona as a mistake. We regard the imprisonment of Mr. Tilak and of the Poona Editors as a still greater mistake; for Mr. Tilak my heart is full of sympathy, my feelings go forth to him in his prison house. The Nation is in tears."

The whole House rose up supporting the statement with resounding cheers. The bulk of the Indian Press expressed its dis-satisfaction of the Judge's definition of "Sedition" and appreciated Tilak's stand. Tilak might have incurred the wrath and disapproval of the bureaucracy, but had secured a firm place in the loving hearts of his countrymen.

(ii) *The Trial*

The subject-matter of complaint against Tilak consisted of a report of the proceedings of a Shivaji Memorial meeting and of a poem containing an imaginary address by Shivaji on the present conditions of the country. The important passages, in the speeches as summarised and reported in the columns of the *Kesari* were, in brief, as follows. Professor Bhanu, who, by the way, belonged to a party which was opposed to Tilak's, had said:

"Every Hindu, every Maratha, to whatever party he may belong, must rejoice at this (Shivaji Festival). We all are striving to regain our lost independence and this terrible load is to be lifted by us all in combination. It will never be proper to place obstacles in the way of any person, who, with a true mind, follows the path of

lifting his burden in the manner he deems fit. Our mutual dissentions impede our progress greatly. If any-one be crushing down the country from above, cut him off; but do not put impediments in the way of others. .... All occasions like the present festival which tend to unite the whole country must be welcome."

Prof. Jinsiwale, who followed, said:

"If no one blames Napoleon for committing 2,000 murders in Europe, and Cæsar is considered merciful though he needlessly committed slaughters in Gaul many a time, why should so virulent an attack be made on Shivaji Maharaj for killing one or two persons? The people who took part in the French Revolution denied that they committed murders, and maintained that they were only removing thorns from their path. Why should not the same principle be made applicable to Maharastra?"

During the course of his speech, Tilak said:

"It was needless to make fresh historical researches in connection with the killing of Afzul Khan. Let us even assume that Shivaji first planned and then executed the murder of Afzul Khan. Was this act of the Maharaja good or bad? This question should not be viewed from the standpoint of the Penal Code or even the Smritis of Manu or Yadnyavalkya, or even the principles of morality laid down in the Western and Eastern ethical systems. The laws which bind society are for common men like yourselves and myself. No one seeks to trace the genealogy of a *Rishi*, nor to fasten guilt upon a king. Great men are above the common principles of morality. These principles fail in their scope to reach the pedestal of great men. Did Shivaji commit a sin in killing Afzul Khan or how? The answer to this question can be found in the Mahabharat itself. Shrimat Krishna's advice in the *Gita* is to kill even our teachers and our kinsmen. No blame attaches to any person, if he is doing deeds without being actuated by a desire to reap

the fruit of his deeds. Shri Shivaji Maharaj did nothing with a view to fill the small void of his own stomach (i.e. from interested motives). With benevolent intentions he murdered Afzul Khan for the good of others. If thieves enter our house and we have not sufficient strength in our wrists to drive them out, we should, without hesitation, shut them up and burn them alive. God has not conferred upon the *Mlenchas* the grant inscribed on a copper-plate of the kingdom of Hindustan. The Maharaj strove to drive them away from the land of his birth; he did not thereby commit the sin of coveting what belonged to others. Do not circumscribe your vision like a frog in a well. Get out of the Penal Code, enter into the extremely high atmosphere of the *Shrimat Bhagwatgita,* and then consider the action of great men."

The complaint was lodged on the 27th July, before the Chief Presidency Magistrate in Bombay under 124A of the Indian Penal Code for two matters already referred to published in the *Kesari* of the 15th June. It should be noted that inspite of their best effort Government could not find any article by Tilak himself in spite of the fact that he had severely criticised the officials and the administration.

Tilak was arrested in Bombay on the same night. Bail was refused by the Magistrate and Justice Ranade refused to interfere in appeal. The Magistrate committed the case to the High Court. An application for bail was repeated and Justice Tyabji, in granting the application, observed,

"The articles in question, ... about which he desired to say clearly that he gave no positive opinion oneway or the other, were not necessarily of such a character as to lead one to the irresistible conclusion that the man responsible for such articles must be convicted upon them."

104509

As soon as the news of Tilak's prosecution was known, his sympathisers in Bengal and Maharashtra immediately organised collection of funds for the defence. The Bengal leaders engaged the services of leading Counsil at the Calcutta bar, Messrs. Pugh and Garth to defend Tilak. It is noteworthy, that leaders like Surendra Nath Banerjee and Rabindra Nath Tagore helped in the collection of funds.

The case came up for hearing before Mr. Justice Strachey and a special jury consisting of three Indians and six Non-Indians on the 8th and was concluded on the 14th September. The principal point of dispute was whether either of the articles was seditious under the law. Tilak admitted full responsibility for the publication of the articles and the only prosecution witness vigorously cross-examined by the Defence was the Oriental translator for inaccurate translations. The prosecution, which was represented by the Advocate-General, tried to show that the articles hurt the law of sedition, whereas Mr. Pugh argued that they were perfectly legitimate, that the speeches in the meeting were part of a historical discussion and that the object of the poem 'Shivaji's utterances' was to draw the attention of the reader to some instances of injustice going on under the administration. The Advocate-General urged in regard to the verses:

"Do you consider that writings of that character addressed to Hindus are or are not, calculated to incite in them feelings of disaffection, dislike, whatever words you like to use, towards the British Government .... I should remind you, that, even if every single word taken in this poem is true, that would be no defence whatever under this section."

Regarding the discussions at the Shivaji Meeting, the Advocate General said:

"The question to consider is this: Whether, under the pretext of the celebration of the accession of Shivaji to the throne, the prisoner by this article and this report has not attempted to excite feelings of disaffection towards British rule and whether the references in this article are not really intended to apply to the present Government. Now, that, I submit, is perfectly clear from the perusal of the articles as a whole. Referring to Tilak's words in the reported speech "Did Shivaji commit a sin in killing Afzul Khan, how? The answer to this question can be found in the Mahabharat itself. Shrimat Krishna advised in the Geeta .... to kill even our teachers and even our kinsmen. No blame attaches to any person if he is doing deeds without being actuated by desire to reap the fruit of deeds," he said, "I ask you to consider whether this is merely a historical reference to a particular incident of the murder of Afzul Khan by Shivaji or whether it was not intended to apply to the present times. .... Taking the whole of the article together I submit that it is perfectly clear that it was referring to the present times, and that he endeavoured to excite his hearers and his readers when this was published with reference to the present time."

In reply Mr. Pugh urged that the discussion at the Shivaji memorial meeting was only historical and all the speeches capable of being innocently interpreted. Regarding the poem, Mr. Pugh urged that the allegations, regarding the scarcity, the famine, and the epidemic diseases could not be actionable. Alluding to the passage with regard to the women, he referred to some cases in Bengal arising out of assaults on women by railway officials in railway stations.

"With reference to this, it is perfectly lawful for them to think, that justice has not, in regard to a certain

class of cases, been firmly administered and to say, so, as long as they do not do it for the purpose of stirring the people up to the rebellion is legitimate. The redress referred to in this passage need not necessarily be interpreted to imply violence; 'get that grievance redressed,' means make a representation for the redress. He further urged that the vague reference to the Princes cannot also be construed as offending the law. We have interpreted sedition as an attempt to incite people until they are ready to rebel if an opportunity presents itself. I do not say that they should rebel and that there should be a rebellion but that is a spirit which must be inculcated in them in order to be regarded disaffection."

Summing up, Judge Strachey dealt with various aspects of the case and gave his interpretation of Section 124A:

"If the accused intended, by the articles, to excite rebellion or disturbance, his act would doubtless fall within Section 124A and would probably fall within other sections of the Penal Code." I agree with Sir Cromer Petheram, the late Chief Justice of Bengal, who has laid down that disaffection means simply absence of affection. It means, hatred, enmity, dislike, hostility, contempt and every form of illwill to the Government. 'Disloyalty' is perhaps the best general term comprehended of every possible form of bad feeling to the Government."

About the discussion relating to Afzul Khan murder, he said:

"We have to consider how far such a discussion is justifiable. I see no reason why a person should not discuss, in a proper moderate way, whether the assassination was justified. But although there are subjects of legitimate comments and discussion, you will readily recognise the these are delicate subjects for a man of importance, a leader of the people; that is to say, he

ought to be careful as to the spirit in which they are discussed in the audience. It is one thing to discuss it amongst philosophers, it is another thing to discuss it amongst an ignorant mob."

He added, that at the time concerned, the state of public feeling was so excited as not to be equalled to anything that had happened for a long time past.....

"The particular juncture at which this was published has to be considered; we shall never arrive at a truth in this enquiry, if we do not have close regard to the time, manner, occasion and above all the class of readers to whom they were addressed."

With regard to the poem, he said, the case of the prosecution was:

"The reader has gone out of his way to gather together all the topics of prejudices which in any time in recent years has created bad feelings between the British Government and the public. He has shown ingenuity in doing it and he makes the contrast stand out most sharply. Under the rule of Shivaji the Brahmins were protected; under the British Government they are imprisoned. Shivaji protected the cow; British Government allow them to be slaughtered. Shivaji made the natives of this country his trusted infantry and gave them justice; under British rule whenever there is a case between a native and a European, injustice is done: groundless excuses are raised by the European and the European escapes. Under Shivaji, women were protected and a thousand sharp swords leapt out in their defence; under the British opportunities are availed of in railway carriages. Shivaji did all this, British Government do all that. Whereas according to the defence, the object is only to extol Shivaji, to paint the unfortunate conditions of the people and to apply for redress."



LOKAMANYA TILAK'S FAMILY IN 1901

G. V. Ketkar, Ramabai Vaidya, Lokamanya Tilak, S. B. Tilak, R. B. Tilak, Satyabhamabai Tilak, Parvatibai Ketkar, Mathutai Sane, Dhondopant Vidwans.

The trial concluded on the evening of September 14th and the Jury returned a verdict of guilty against Tilak by a majority of six to three, the three being Indians. The judge accepted the verdict of the Jury and sentenced him to 18 months rigorous imprisonment. In the course of his doing so, he observed,

"I shall also take into account and will attach still more weight to the fact that, at all events for a considerable period, you did good work in connection with the plague and attempted to enforce a reasonable policy upon your countrymen. To that extent, you co-operated with the Government and did so long before you published these articles."

An appeal was later filed before the Privy Council by Mr. Asquith on behalf of Tilak, but it was dismissed.

It is significant to note that on receipt of news of the conviction and sentence one of the members of the Government of India commented, "A commendable sentence."

After his conviction, Tilak was removed to a jail in Bombay, but later on he was transferred to Yeravda prison in February. His health had suffered severely in Bombay and during a couple of months he lost 35 lbs. in weight. The Howard Association in England represented the matter to the Government of Bombay. In Yeravda he was given lighter work and afterwards transferred to the hospital as a patient. The work that was allotted to him was that of painting furniture and the like. He also pursued his Vedic studies. One day Mr. Nugent, one of the Bombay Government Councillors, went to the jail and asked him how he liked his work and Tilak replied that it was all right under the circumstances. While he was in jail, Professor Max

Müller in a representation signed by himself and others like Sir William Hunter, Sir Richard Garth, William Cain, Dadabhai Naoroji and Romesh Chandra Dutt, urged Tilak's early release in view of his health and his scholarly attainments. In the meantime, the mystery of the Rand murder had been unravelled. Damodar Chapekar, his two brothers and one Ranade were tried and sentenced to death. It should be noted in passing, that the behaviour of these young men throughout the trial and after was dignified and cheerful and they climbed the gallows in perfect composure. During his last hours Chapekar asked for Tilak's copy of the *Bhagwad Gita* which Tilak sent him.

Partly as a result of the Chapekar case, and Professor Max Müller's representation, Tilak was released six months earlier, on condition that he should not participate in receptions in his honour and that if he was again convicted of sedition, the unexpired portion should be added to the sentence. He was released on the 6th September, 1898. The news of his release was received with great jubilation not only in Poona and Maharashtra but the whole of India. Amongst others, Romesh Chandra Dutt and William Cain congratulated him upon his sacrifice and his sufferings in the cause of the Nation.

(iii) *Biding His Time: 1898-1905*

Tilak took some rest at Sinhagarh and later attended the Congress Session at Madras, though he could not participate in its proceedings. He then went to Ceylon and returned to Poona in February 1899. After attending the Lucknow Congress Session in December he took a trip to Burma.

Tilak took formal charge of the editorship of the *Kesari* on the 4th July, 1899. The sedition case had definitely extended the sphere of his influence and he began thereafter to be looked upon both by the Government and the people as an all-India leader. We find him devoting himself hereafter more to the discussion of subjects connected with all-India questions than to local ones.

Lord Curzon was appointed Viceroy in 1899. In the earlier stages Tilak wrote with appreciation of the new Viceroy, but this appreciation was short-lived in view of the various reactionary measures which followed. Lord Curzon, as Viceroy, though he became popular on account of measures like the one for the preservation of ancient monuments proved himself ultimately true to a parody by one of his contemporaries at Balliol:

My name is George Nathaniel Curzon,
  I am a most superior person,
My cheek is pink my hair is sleek,
  I dine at Blenheim once a week.

His career in India displayed a combination of a like for pomp and splendour, a love of autocratic power,—whether it was in respect of his subordinates or the people,—a sense of self-righteousness, a fascination for rounded periods and over-exhuberant expression, and above all, a complete want of self-introspection and objective thinking. He was well-read and had twice travelled round the world. He entered Parliament early and had occupied responsible positions on the Treasury Bench; but he failed completely to appreciate the forces at work in India and the likely consequences of what he did, as he thought, in the interest of the Indian people.

The main defect which clouded his approach to Indian problems was that he was a conservative and reactionary imperialist to the core. The Universities Act and the Calcutta Corporation Act, enacted during his regime, intended with a view to bring greater efficiency, were condemned on all hands as introducing greater official control in those bodies. He also quite gratuitously charged the educated classes of India with untruthfulness as though truth was a Western virtue. He provoked the Indian sentiment by saying that Indians must be regarded as unequal to the responsibility of high office. Apropos this, Surendra Nath Banerjea observed in the Bombay Congress Session (1904):

"Never was a deeper affront offered to the people of India by the representatives of the Sovereign."

Gokhale as President of the Benares Session of the Congress (1905) referred to Curzon's persistence in a policy of distrust and repression, resulting in bitter exasperation all-round.

Curzon's regime naturally came in for severe comment at Tilak's hands. But Tilak, as the reader knows, did not confine himself to mere criticism of official measures and officials, but worked with a constructive view to advance the cause of national regeneration. Writing about Hume's message to Congress men on the eve of the Madras Congress (1903) he said, "if constitutional political agitation was the real way to our progress, then it must bear fruit; if not, we shall have to abandon this way and follow some other, more beneficial." He endorsed Hume's view that a country gets a Government that it deserves, and that there could be no success unless constant persistent agitation for

political rights is kept up in India and England. The country's future was in its hands. Tilak said that hard work and tenacity of purpose were essential for the fulfilment of the national objective. Later (July 5, 1904) he mentioned with approval Wedderburn's statement that free Asia is coming into being and that India may be able to achieve substantial rights, if Indian people and their leaders work in a spirit of single-mindedness and sincerity. Tilak said that it was desirable to canalise the nation's demands and concentrate attention on the principal question of political rights and put this forcibly before the British public. Referring to an article by Wedderburn in the Journal *India*, Tilak deplored the fact that there was less contact these days between the leaders of various parts even at sessions of the Congress. He endorsed Wedderburn's idea of organising a permanent political mission in England; mere passing of resolutions in annual sessions was not adequate. Self-reliance, he said, is the only sure way of progress and though force has been the ultimate arbiter in matters of securing justice, he advised patience and the pursuit of all constitutional methods in the first instance. He reviewed the course of the work of the Congress just on the eve of its next Session (December 20, 1904). He said that there was no ground for disappointment over the work of the Congress during the last 20 years. Much has been accomplished, but there would be growing disappointment if the future method of work is not something different from the old. The Bombay Session of the Congress decided on sending a delegation to England and Gokhale was deputed accordingly. Lala Lajpat Rai, who was then in England, also joined him and both of them addressed many meetings effectively. On his re-

turn Gokhale's services were greatly appreciated and Tilak commended his work in a Poona meeting (December 10th, 1905).

It will thus be seen that during this period Tilak began to feel that there was need for the Congress to function more effectively than before. He was obviously asking himself the question as to whether resort to mere constitutional methods alone would suffice for achieving the objective. But he could not think of any substantial departure from the trodden path of propaganda work in India and in England. But the reaction of the Bengalis to the Partition of Bengal (1905) indicated a radical departure from the conventional method of representation and petition, and Tilak was not slow to grasp the full implications of the new situation.

Apart from the question of direct political work Tilak wrote profusely during this period on various topics of all-India interest, like Military expenditure, the Delhi Durbar, problems of education, famine relief, the Indian Budget, condition of our industries, and similar topics. He also dealt with inter-national affairs, specially pertaining to Asia. In an interesting article on India and Japan he examined the lessons to be drawn from the recent Japanese history.

He attended as usual all the Congress Sessions, excepting the Session of 1903 as he was then involved in the Tai Maharaj case.

It was during this period that Tilak published (1903) his scholarly treatise, *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, in which, on the basis of internal evidence in the Rig Veda he worked out the thesis that the Arctic region was the original home of the Aryans.

CHAPTER XI

THE TAI MAHARAJ CASE: 1902-1904

Baba Maharaj, a 1st Class Sardar of Poona and a friend of Tilak, died on 7th August 1897. He left behind him his second wife, Sakwarbai, popularly known as Tai Maharaj, who was *enceinte* at the time of his death. Before his death Baba Maharaj appointed five Trustees including Tilak, Khaparde and Nagpurkar, to look after his Estate with authority to arrange a suitable adoption in case of necessity.

A posthumous son was born to Tai Maharaj who died within 2 months after birth. Tilak was sentenced in September 1897 and released one year later, as we have seen above. As Tai Maharaj was keeping indifferent health, the Trustees thought it expedient that Tai Maharaj should adopt a suitable boy. There was no unanimity among the trustees regarding the choice of the boy to be adopted. Nagpurkar favoured a boy from Kolhapur, but Tilak thought that a suitable boy of tender age, from some family of the relatives of Baba Maharaj in the Nizam State, would be more suitable. Ultimately Tai Maharaj agreed to Tilak's proposal and the trustees resolved in a meeting on the 18th June 1901 that Tilak, Khaparde and Tai Maharaj should go to Aurangabad and arrange about the adoption. After scrutiny, a boy named Jagannath was chosen and proper adoption was made on the 27th and 28th June 1901 and a formal adoption deed was duly executed. The *Dattak Samarambha*

or the celebration of adoption was postponed to a future date. In the meantime Nagpurkar had forged a note of his disapproval to the proceedings in the minutes of the earlier meeting of the trustees. It appears that with regard to the boy Bala Maharaj from Kolhapur, an agreement was arrived at that Tai Maharaj was to remain in possession and enjoyment of the property till her death and that during that time an allowance of Rs. 200/- p.m. was all that the adopted son would be entitled to. Nagpurkar had also an interest in the bargain as he would continue to be an adviser of Tai Maharaj. In accordance with his advice, Tai Maharaj gave notice to the trustees on 6th July 1901 that the trust by Baba Maharaj was rendered invalid by her succeeding to the son born after the death of Baba Maharaj, and who had died an early death as mentioned above. On the 10th July, on her application, the Darbar of Kolhapur granted permission to the adoption of one Bala Maharaj from Kolhapur and 13th July was the date fixed for the adoption. In the meantime Tilak wired to the Kolhapur Durbar protesting against the attempts made to take another son in adoption. In the meantime the brother of Bala Maharaj came for the proposed adoption and stayed in the Baba Maharaj's Wada. Tilak and Khaparde made attempts to persuade Tai Maharaj against the proposed adoption, but when they failed, they ejected Pandit Maharaj the brother and his party from the Wada and had a close watch kept on the entrance without preventing Tai Maharaj from going out or coming in as she liked. Pandit Maharaj complained that Tai Maharaj was kept under confinement. The police were asked to investigate but they found that there was no truth in the allegation. An application was then made

by Tai Maharaj to the District Judge of Poona (Mr. Aston) who was also Agent to the Sirdars of the Deccan, on the 29th July for the cancellation of the Probate granted to the trustees. She then accompanied Pandit Maharaj to Kolhapur and there, Bala Maharaj was adopted on the 19th August 1901, the Maharaja of Kolhapur being present on the occasion. Tilak later on, on the 23rd September, filed a suit for the declaration of the validity of the first adoption and the nullity of the second.

The application for the cancellation of the Probate was taken up by Mr. Aston. As the High Court later on observed:

"The only relevant grounds that could be considered as a just cause for the cancellation were the 4th and 5th under Sec. 50 of the Probate and Administration Act of 1881. The alleged adoption at Aurangabad had nothing whatever to do with those grounds, yet the accused, though cited by the petitioner as her witness, was kept in the witness box, we are told, for no less than 17 days, during the greater part of which he was subjected to a most rigorous cross-examination by the person, by whom he was called on matters wholly irrelevant to the subject then under investigation."

The only principal issue which had to be decided by Mr. Aston was whether the Probate was affected by the fact of Tai Maharaj having given birth to a son who died later. Tilak's contention, that the Aurangabad adoption was completely extraneous to these issues, was over-ruled and Mr. Aston himself participated in the questions eliciting information about the Aurangabad adoption.

On behalf of Tilak, testimony of respectable witnesses from Aurangabad was produced in support of the reality of the adoption and giving and taking of the son. In the final decision, Mr. Aston, while cancelling the Probate ordered enquiry into the various charges of forgery, perjury and malicious prosecution against Tilak and ordered him to appear before the nearest 1st Class Magistrate on the 5th April and a personal security of Rs. 10,000 and two surities of Rs. 5,000 were taken for such appearance.

The alleged false evidence given in the District Court included the following statements by Tilak: "(1) The boy was formally placed by his father on the lap of Tai Maharaj and Tai Maharaj gave him sweet-meats and then the father said to Tai Maharaj that now you should protect the boy. The boy has now become your son! whether fool or wise, he is yours. (2) We never kept her (i.e., Tai Maharaj) under restraint nor intended to do so."

The Magistrate to whom the papers were sent, sent the matter for further enquiry to the police. This work should normally have been done by the District Police. Instead the Government of Bombay intervened* and directed Mr. Brewin, Assistant Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D., to inquire into the matter. He said in his report that there was *prima-facie* evidence about five minor charges but as regards charges of forgery Mr. Brewin said:

"I think the charge would not stand, as Tilak would get statements from respectable citizens of Aurangabad to prove his innocence. Besides, the document which

* I have drawn on the note on 'The Tai Maharaj case' prepared by the Bombay committee of the Government of India's Freedoms Struggle Committee in writing this part of the chapter.

was signed by Tai Maharaj is in *Balbodh*, a script which she can freely read. Her statement that she did not read it, is not convincing. Hence, the charge of forgery cannot be proved."

He adverted to her reputed character and further said:

"Besides, in adopting Bala Maharaj, she had expressed a desire of retaining the ownership of the estate during her life time, as can be seen from the fact that Nagpurkar and Tai Maharaj had jointly obtained from Bala Maharaj an agreement to relinquish all claims to the estate, its management and revenues during the life time of Tai Maharaj for a consideration of Rs. 200 p.m."

"He further recommended that the five minor charges were connected with a private affair and that Government should assume an attitude of neutrality. The Inspector-General of Police was of opinion that nothing would be gained by attempting a prosecution on the serious charges of forgery and perjury, and while there was a fair chance of success in a prosecution on the minor charges mentioned by Mr. Brewin, "it should be seriously considered whether it was worthwhile to prosecute on these minor charges"."

In the ultimate, he recommended that proceedings should be taken on the five minor charges mentioned above. The Legal Remembrancer who was consulted after considering the pros and cons advised Government in the following terms:

"If, however, I may venture to offer any advice, it is, that the inquiry ordered by the District Judge should be allowed to proceed, without any interference whatever either on the part of Government or the Police, and that the District Police Prosecutor should be instructed to conduct the prosecution, but merely with a view to seeing that all materials and evidence on which Mr. Aston bases his conclusions and order, are properly put before the Court and without in any way unduly pressing the

case one way or the other. And having regard to the strong view taken by Mr. Brewin, on what, I think are quite insufficient grounds, it certainly seems to me inexpedient that he should have anything to do with the conduct of the case."

Finally, Government advised the Poona District Magistrate on the 30th August that the case should be placed in the hands of the Public Prosecutor in order to secure that all material and evidence on which Mr. Aston based his conclusions were properly placed before the Court, and that regarding minor charges, the police should proceed according to law.

Instead of leaving the work to the normal routine, Government entrusted the work of this trial to Mr. Clements who was appointed Special Magistrate for this case. Of the charges referred to enquiry by Mr. Aston, the first was that Tilak falsely charged B. M. Nagpurkar with criminal breach of trust in respect of ornaments entrusted to him; the second, that Tilak fabricated false evidence by making alterations and interpolations in the account of expenses of the Aurangabad trip; third, that Tilak used false evidence as genuine, in producing a document signed by Tai Maharaj to prove that she agreed in writing to adopt the boy, Jagannath; fourth, that he made a false statement in his deposition in application No. 112 of 1901 stating: (i) that there was an adoption by Tai Maharaj of Jagannath at Aurangabad, (ii) that neither Tai Maharaj nor Nagpurkar was kept in confinement or under restraint in the Baba Maharaj Wada at any time between the 15th and 20th July 1901, (iii) that Baba Maharaj was not pulled out of Tai Maharaj's room, (iv) that the boy Jagannath was firmly placed by his father on Tai Maharaja's lap and Tai Maharaj gave him sweet-

meats, (v) that Tai Maharaj took Jagannath in her lap in adoption on 28th June, (vi) that she asked Tilak to write out the consent remark on the *Dattakpatra,* (vii) that they never kept Tai Maharaj under any restraint, (viii) that Tai Maharaj was not prevented from leaving the *Wada* between 15th and 20th July, (ix) that Nagpurkar could have gone out without handing over the ornaments and similar other statements. In other words Aston totally had accepted the versions of Tai Maharaj and Nagpurkar about the incident at the *Wada* when the Kolhapur party was there and about events at Aurangabad, and that he totally disbelieved Tilak's case.

It should be noted at this stage that the prosecution did not put forward before the court the case under the second and third charge. As the first charge required the sanction of the court before whom the proceeding had taken place and as Mr. Aston was not at that court, fresh proceedings were commenced and necessary sanction obtained from the Magistrate concerned. In this matter Government actively helped Nagpurkar. But the High Court quashed the sanction on appeal.

After protracted trial Mr. Clements held Tilak guilty of perjury and sentenced him, to rigorous imprisonment for 18 months, a fine of Rupees One Thousand and in default to two months' rigorous imprisonment. Mr. Clements said further in his judgment that he was giving a light sentence as he was convinced that Tilak acted with selfless motives. The conviction was anticipated and Tilak kept ready an appeal to be presented to the Sessions Court and was released on bail the very day. The appeal was heard by Mr. Lucas, the Sessions Judge and judgment was delivered on 4th January 1904. He did not believe Tai Maharaj and Nagpurkar in their

versions of unlawful confinement etc., and found Tilak guilty in respect of his statement regarding the giving and taking of the boy adopted at Aurangabad and reduced the sentence of 18 months to 6 months rigorous imprisonment.

Tilak appealed to the High Court. In a very able Judgment, Chief Justice Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Justice Batty pointed out the various errors in the judgment of the Magistrate and the Sessions Judge. They seriously criticised the refusal, by the Magistrate, to call witnesses as asked for by the accused. Discussing the truth or falsity of Tilak's statement regarding the factum of adoption at Aurangabad, they noted, in the first instance, that "the oral evidence consists of the testimony on the side of Tai Maharaj to its falsity and on the other of the several witnesses called for the defence who deposed to its truth. They mentioned the names of the nine witnesses examined on behalf of the defence and said, "Here then we have, in opposition to Tai Maharaj's interested statement, the testimony of several witnesses of apparent respectability and yet the whole of their evidence is put on one side without a word of comment beyond a profitless justification as to the unreliability of native testimony. These witnesses were not examined before the Sessions Judge or for the matter of that before the Magistrate (as they were examined on commission), so that, this wholesale disregard of their testimony cannot even be defended on an appeal to the opportunities of just appreciation commonly ascribed to the officer before whom witnesses are examined. We can find in the judgment of the Sessions judge no attempt at sifting this large body of Aurangabad evidence, and had it been

necessary, we would have been prepared to hold, that the absence of any discussion of this evidence called for the defence constituted such a grave omission, that, on that ground alone, we would be bound to interfere. Adverting to the foundation on which the Sessions Judge had built up his conclusion, namely that it is quite unsafe to believe in all the oral witnesses' evidences in the case, except when it is borne out by documentary evidence, or when the statements are against the interest of the side on which the witness is examined or when witnesses on both sides agree, the High Court observed,

"We have already pointed out that the only oral evidence directed against the accused is that of Tai Maharaj and as to her and Nagpurkar the Sessions Judge himself has said not merely that he was not prepared to act on their evidence, but that he was convinced both of them had given false evidence against the accused before Mr. Clements."

Their Lordships further analysed the documentary evidence, and held that it supported the view of the accused much more than that of the prosecution.

And so on the 4th of March 1904, almost two years after the ball was set rolling on 3rd April 1902, Tilak came out of the proceedings unscathed and unsullied. On a careful scrutiny of these proceedings, questions arise in one's mind as to many aspects of the case. Why was it that Mr. Aston allowed evidence about the Aurangabad adoption and the incidents in Baba Maharaj's *Wada* though such evidence was wholly irrelevant to the main issue under dispute, unless it was to bring Tilak's testimony on oath from record which Mr. Aston held to be false? Why did he permit the whole extraneous matter of Tilak's prosecution of Nagpurkar on cri-

minal breach of trust on record? Why was it that on the First Class Magistrate's order for enquiry by the Police, such enquiry was not taken up in the normal course by the Police at Poona? What was the reason of the Provincial Government taking an interest in the matter at this stage and specially ordering a High C.I.D. officer like Mr. Brewin to enquire into the case? Why was it that Government did not rely upon Mr. Brewin's estimate of the reliability of Tai Maharaj and Nagpurkar? Instead of relying on the normal routine course in respect of prosecutors in public trials, why did Government choose to engage Special Counsel Mr. Strangman, a noted Barrister, to appear on behalf of the Government both before the Magistrate and the Sessions Judge in all stages of the case? Is it not obvious that Government took special interest in the case and was this because it was Tilak who was involved as an accused person?

After the acquittal by the High Court, Tilak demanded compensation from the Government of India for his expenses on these proceedings amounting to some 30,000 rupees. On the rejection of this demand, he appealed to the Secretary of State on 30th July 1904 clearly stating out the grounds of his grievance. He said,

"As the Bombay Government had practically made it a State prosecution spending something like sixty to seventy thousand rupees on the same, the unequalness of the fight imposed a heavy strain upon the resources of the petitioner, in addition to the great mental anxiety and worry caused by the prosecution."

He detailed the various reasons as to why he considered it the Bombay Government's responsibility for payment of such a compensation; he asserted,

"If Government had not interfered with the ordinary course of the law, it might have possibly been a different thing; but having done so in a manner which is not defensible in law or equity, it does not, your Lordship, the petitioner trusts, will readily see, now lie in its mouth to say that Mr. Aston and not the Government is responsible for all the injury caused to the petitioner during the trial which extended over nearly two years, for acts admittedly done by him from disinterested motives in discharge of the duty which he owed to a deceased friend—a trial in which the local Government which gratuitously took up the cause of private persons, was with all resources arranged against him, and to get out of which he had to incur an expenditure, in money alone of about thirty thousand rupees, an expenditure too heavy to bear for a man in his position, not to speak of the immense mental anxiety and distress to which the petitioner was subjected during such a long period."

He finally appealed for a broad and liberal view of the whole question, apart from the legal grounds stated above.

"A wrong has been done; a British subject has been ruined, for acts honestly done in the discharge of his duties to a deceased friend, by a protracted and harassing prosecution launched against him by a servant of Government and supported by the latter at a cost of over sixty thousand rupees to the public exchequer. It has been held by the High Court that the prosecution was unjustified. It may be that Government was misled or misinformed throughout by interested parties, whoever they may be. But if the whole thing is now found to be a huge mistake, not to use a stronger term, it is, your Lordship will see, not only expedient but unfair and unkind on the part of Government to decline to make any reparation to the individual that has been the unfortunate victim of this error. The honour and prestige of the Government demand a more generous treatment, and there are precedents that justify such a course."

But such a generous treatment could not be expected from the Government of that day and Tilak's appeal was of no avail, and his demand was rejected. But he reaped a more precious compensation in the delight of his people, who hailed him as a martyr who had triumphed over the wicked machinations of a Bureaucracy which was all out to crush him by means, fair and foul.

CHAPTER XII

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT: 1905-1908

(i) *The Anti-Partition Agitation*: 1905

The Swadeshi movement in Bengal, which arose out of the partition of that province, marked a new phase in Indian politics. A proposal to partition the province was, it is said, conceived with a view to greater efficiency in the administration. Proposals in this regard were considered before Lord Curzon's time and dropped on account of hostile public opinion. Lord Curzon revived the scheme which immediately met with bitter opposition from all sections in Bengal. Nothing was heard about it for some time; in the meantime, Curzon toured in East Bengal and after his return evolved the final proposal, according to which the whole of North Bengal, Faridpur and Barisal districts were to be tagged on to Assam to constitute a new province. Before the public had any opportunity of expressing itself, an announcement was made in July, 1905, that Bengal was to be partitioned as above. It was also officially given out that Eastern Bengal and Assam was to be a Muslim Province and that creedal districts were to be recognised as the basis of the new policy in that province. The Bengalis felt that such a partition would be fatal to their political progress and to the close union between the Hindus and Muslims. The people felt that they had been insulted, humiliated and tricked. Even the Anglo-Indian newspapers were opposed to it. There were numerous meet-

ings of protest all over Bengal, in which resolutions urging the boycott of British manufactures were passed, and on the 7th of August, a public meeting in the Calcutta Town Hall declared that:

"This meeting fully sympathises with the resolutions adopted at many meetings, held in the mofussil to abstain from the purchase of British manufactures, so long as the Partition resolution is not withdrawn, as a protest against the indifference of the British public in regard to Indian affairs and the consequent disregard of Indian public opinion by the present Government."

The mantle of leadership of this movement fell on Surendra Nath Banerjea. All sections of the community joined in the movement and amongst its leaders were, A. Rassool and Liaquat Ali. In the succeeding months, the spirit of Boycott and its counter-part Swadeshi caught public imagination as nothing before.

This new movement, universal in its influence, appealed particularly to the younger men.

"It was positively dangerous for a school boy or a college student to appear in a class or a lecture room in clothes made of foreign stuff. I remember a school boy appearing in the VI Form of the Ripon collegiate school with a shirt made of foreign cloth. As soon as the discovery was made, the shirt was torn off his back and he narrowly escaped lynching...... At an examination of the Ripon College, the students refused to touch blank answer books manufactured from foreign paper. This fervour communicated itself to the whole community...... A grand-daughter of mine, then only five years old, returned a pair of shoes that had been sent to her by a relative, because they were of foreign make...... Marriage presents, that included foreign goods the like of which could be manufactured at home, were returned. Priests

would often refuse to officiate at ceremonies where foreign articles were offered as oblations to the Gods. Guests would refuse to participate in festivities where foreign salt or foreign sugar was used. So great was the pressure of public opinion, that no Bengali would think of purchasing a foreign made Dhoti or Sari."[1]

It is also recorded that sitting by her mother a child of Eastern Bengal was heard to ask, 'mother, is this an English or a Swadeshi mosquito?' 'Swadeshi', the mother answered; 'Then I won't kill it' said the child. The movement spread to all strata of society. The Collector of Dacca reported that 'even the public women of Dacca and Narayanganj took the so-called Swadeshi vow, and joined the general movement against the use of foreign articles. People, formerly addicted to imported liquor, took to country spirit.'

With a national cause, comes a national slogan. *Bande Mataram*, which originally occurred in Bankim Chandra's novel *Anandamatha*, became suddenly popular on the advent of Swadeshi movement. On the 16th October, the day on which the partition was to take effect, the streets of Calcutta resounded with the cry of *Bande Mataram*. People congregated in thousands on the *ghats* for a bath and *Rakhis*—symbols of brotherhood—were tied round the wrists of friends and even strangers. People observed fast and *Sankirtan* (singing) parties filled the streets. The foundation stone for a Federation Hall was laid in the afternoon by Ananda Mohan Ghose, who had to be brought in an invalid chair on account of serious illness. The following proclamation,

1. Banerjea, *A Nation in Making* pp. 196-197.

which was translated into Bengali by Rabindranath Tagore, was then read:

'Whereas the Government has thought fit to effectuate the partition of Bengal, in spite of universal protests of the Bengali Nation, we hereby pledge and proclaim that we as a people shall do everything in our power to counteract the evil effects of the dismemberment of our province and to maintain the integrity of our race. So God help us!'

The proclamation was an expression of the irresistible will of a determined and united people. It marked the birth of a Nation. Such sacred moments are rare in a Nation's history and this was one of them. The 16th of October continued to be observed as a day of ritual and resolve till the partition was modified.

Tilak grasped immediately the full implication and requirements of the situation. On the 15th of August, he wrote an article captioned, "The Hour of Destiny". The Sanskrit quotation at the commencement,

"A filament of the lotus cannot arrest an elephant fresh in its rut,' implied that no repression would thwart the powerful Swadeshi Movement that had been started. He commended the Town Hall resolution and said that 'the mouth is opened only by shutting the nose', and the Government will not stop its arrogance unless we do something that severely affects it...... It is clear now that mighty speeches lead us nowhere; not words, but action, is wanted—determined action....... A day has come in the progress of public opinion in India, when our leaders have either to move with a will and determination and achieve their objective, or rot in a poisonous atmosphere."

Tilak attached great importance to the constructive or industrial aspect of swadeshi; he attached greater

importance to boycott as a means of exercising pressure on Britain to compel them to grant India's legitimate rights. In an article he wrote on "National Boycott", next week (August 27, 1905), he congratulated the Bengalis on the initiation of the new struggle and said that under the circumstances, boycott was the only weapon with which they could fight the British. He added

> "Lord Curzon does not listen, Mr. Brodrick does not listen, nor does Parliament. What should be done? It is necessary to do something to withstand this autocracy and if something could be done for bringing down this arrogance of the rulers by legal means and concerted action, it is the duty of every man, having a sincere interest in India, to do so with courage and firmness,"

and he quoted with approval Hyndman's advice that the people could not depend upon humble supplications to the British people for their rights. He thought that they had to work their salvation with consistency and courage and almost with a sense of fanaticism.

> "We have neither the strength nor the desire", said Tilak, "to rise in arms against our rulers, but should it not be possible for us to stop the drain of crores of rupees, which we are giving to the British merchants and labourers by purchasing British goods?"

He also urged the whole country to follow Bengal.

> "To rebel against Government illegally is an offence, but a boycott is not. If our experience shows that mere representation is not useful, we must achieve our object by tagging on boycott. Times of moment, like the present, do not come often in a Nation's history, and whenever they come, if we do not take the fullest advantage, there will be no greater fools than we"

and he urged every district and taluka to hold a meeting in support of Bengal. He returned to the subject

in an article on the 5th September, when, under the caption, "Bahishkar Yoga" (science of Bahiṣhkar), he elevated the practice of boycott to the status of a principle of political action. He reminded the readers of an article in the *Kesari* in 1881, regarding the Irish Land League, and what it said then:

"If once boycott is given shape of a practical punishment, it could be of great use to us. A lot of things which are harmful to us could well be corrected by this means."

He said that the only effective means open to a helpless country like India for the assertion of its will was a national boycott.

"......Some have said that the present agitation is purely industrial and not in any sense political. In our opinion this is a misunderstanding. It is true that the present agitation is not directly political; but it has to be admitted that the object of the promoters is to practise an indirect pressure upon our rulers. It may take a long time for this policy to be effective; even if we are able to practise a little of it, it will be certainly beneficial to us."

The Benares Session of the Congress (December 1905) met under the presidentship of Gokhale, who had earned encomium of all sections by his excellent work in England. He denounced the partition of Bengal as a cruel wrong and Curzon's assertion that the agitation was manufactured, and said that nothing more intense, widespread and spontaneous had been seen in Indian political agitation. He commended Swadeshi, but added that Boycott, as a political weapon, was to be used, only as the last extremity, and with a strong popular feeling behind it, and in effect, endorsed its use in Ben-

gal. The resolution about Boycott passed at the session recorded emphatic protest against the repressive measures which had been adopted by the authorities in Bengal, as a consequence of which, people there had been compelled to resort to the boycott of foreign goods as a last resort.

(ii) *The Movement Develops*: 1906

The public agitation against the partition was not received kindly by the authorities. Even Morley who realised that the Partition was effected in the teeth of universal opposition refused to unsettle what he called a settled fact. This attitude of the authorities strengthened the people's resolve in the prosecution of the Swadeshi Movement. Officialdom began to think in terms of repressing the rising momentum by arbitrary measures. Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the Lieutenant Governor of Eastern Bengal, was the most zealous in taking to such repressive measures. A circular was issued curtailing the right of public meetings and suppressing processions and the cry of *Bande Mataram*. In another, he laid down that preference should be given to Muhammedans in service up to a certain percentage. He went to Barisal, invited respected leaders to meet him and insulted and threatened them. Punitive police and Gurkhas were posted in several towns and villages at their cost. Offending schools were punished by deprivation of their grants. Fuller did all that was possible, to strike terror into the population, and to deter them from participating in the Swadeshi Movement. He added fuel to the fire by declaring that he had two wives, one Hindu and the other Muhammedan, and that the Muhammedan was the favourite wife. In course of time, arose

complaints, that the military police, stationed in peaceful centres of population, had committed assaults upon honoured members of the Hindu community. Respectable leaders, like Babu Aswini Kumar Dutta, were charged with sedition for issuing a Swadeshi Circular. In fact, Barisal occupied a place of distinction during the whole of the movement, and the famous 'Barisal Stare' was a phrase that became famous.

The matters came to a crisis at the time of the Bengal Provincial Conference, proposed to be held in April in Barisal. When the procession of delegates was proceeding towards the Conference, the younger ones were suddenly attacked with lathis by police, even though they had done nothing, and then they lustily shouted *Bande Mataram*, which was re-echoed from every direction. Surendra Nath Banerjea was hauled up before a Magistrate and convicted for participating in an unlicensed procession and uttering a forbidden cry and sentenced to a fine. This incident evoked bitter condemnation from all quarters.

Tilak severely commented on the incident.

"Repression is repression", he said, "whether legal or illegal. If it is legal repression, it must be resisted peacefully, with determination to suffer the penalty. If it is illegal, then it must be illegally met..It is the people's right to decide whether the action of Government is proper or oppressive."

Shortly after, the *Bande Mataram* circular was withdrawn, and Tilak complimented the Viceroy and the Secretary of State on the withdrawal. He added that the cancellation was due to the strong resistance by the people. It appears that Fuller's indiscretion in-

curred the displeasure of even his superiors, and when he insisted that two schools, which he had already punished for a small disturbance by students, should also be disaffiliated from the Calcutta University, the Viceroy disagreed with him; Fuller, thereon, tendered his resignation which was promptly accepted. This evoked severe hostile comment from the Anglo-Indian papers.

It was at this stage, concerned at the active participation of students in the movement, that Herbert Risley, on behalf of the Government of India, issued a circular curtailing the liberty of action of students and teachers (6th May). It was in these circumstances that the National Council of Education of Bengal came to be organised under the lead of Gurudas Banerjee, an ex-Judge of the Calcutta High Court (August 1906). Munificient donations laid the Council on a sure foundation and the Calcutta National College and the National Medical College were soon working under its auspices. The activities of the Council developed in time and more than twenty institutions were established. Suitable curriculum was drawn up with a view to foster national spirit. There was a similar move in Eastern Bengal and there the national education movement took even a firmer root, more than 60 institutions being run under its auspices in a short time. Tilak promoted the establishment of similar institutions in Maharashtra. The Maharashtra Vidya Prasarak Samstha was started in Bombay, under whose auspices the Samartha Vidyalaya was started at Kolahpur with V. G. Vijapurkar as its head. During the next two years Tilak actively helped the institution by collecting funds for it. Similar national schools were started in various parts and various cities.

in Maharashtra, Karnatak, the Central Provinces and the Berars.

Tilak gave great importance to the subject of national education as part of national regeneration. He strongly urged students to participate in the movement. Principal Selby, of the Deccan College, expressed a contrary view. Tilak severely criticised him (October 17, 1905). He said that Professors in Government Colleges do not instil the ideas of achieving Indian prosperity in the minds of the students. He further criticised the condition of institutions getting grants-in-aid from Government. He instanced the case of a student who was fined by the Principal of the Fergusson College for participation in a students' swadeshi meeting.

"We send our boys to schools and colleges, not with the idea that they should be completely aloof from the national movement. On the other hand, our object is, that they should get an education that will inspire them with patriotism."

Tilak expressed himself about the need of national education, both in the *Kesari* as also in the public meetings in Maharashtra and outside, and his main thesis was, that the purpose of national education was rousing, in the minds of the students, a spirit of sound nationalism and patriotism. A speech that he delivered at Barsi (1908) is typical of his views:

"Of the many things that we will do there, religious education will engage our attention first and foremost. Religious education is necessary, because the study of high principles keep us away from evil pursuits. Religion reveals the form of the Almighty. Hinduism to Hindus and Islam to Muslims will be taught in the schools and the students will also be taught to forgive and forget

differences of other religions.... The second thing that we will do, will be to lighten the load of the study of the foreign languages.... Industrial education will be the third factor. The fourth will be political education."

The principal idea underlying national education was, according to him, to give such education to the children of the land as will make them good patriots, who will serve the national cause of freedom.

Tilak was thus in the vanguard of the Swadeshi Movement and devoted his best energies to it. Bepin Chandra Pal espoused the cause of advanced nationalism in Bengal. He had, earlier, a long and chequered career as a teacher and a publicist. He was a powerful writer and an impressive orator. He was all along known for the sturdiness of his views, whether in the matter of religion, social reform or politics. He was clear in thinking and lucid in expression. Through the columns of *New India*, which he was then editing, he heartily supported the cause of Swadeshi Movement and national regeneration. Pal's connection with Tilak continued through the years and the first Home Rule Delegation to England (1918) found them together again in the same platform.

Of a different category by himself, was Shri Aurobindo Ghose. From his childhood he was educated in England. He had acquired a thorough mastery over not only Greek and Latin, but also English and French. He had a bright career in Cambridge and secured a First Class in the Tripos in Classics. He appeared for the I.C.S. examination under pressure from his family, but managed to get himself disqualified for the riding test without himself rejecting service. Even as a child he had,

"already received strongly the impression that a period of general upheaval and great revolutionary changes was coming in the world and he himself was to play a part in it."

The firm decision to participate in the struggle for liberation was already made when he went to Cambridge. While in England he became a member, with his brothers, of a revolutionary society, known as the "Lotus and Dagger" which was destined to be still born. After his return to India the Maharaja of Baroda appointed him as the Vice-Principal of the College there. As early as 1893, he wrote a series of articles, 'New Lamps for the Old,' in the *Indu Prakash*, in which he 'vehemently denounced the then Congress policy of prayer, petition and protest and called for a dynamic leadership based upon self-help and fearlessness.' He held, then and ever after, that, "A Nation is entitled to attain its freedom by violence, if it can do so or if there is no other way; whether it should do so or not, depends on what is the best policy, and not on ethical consideration."

With the idea of establishing secret revolutionary propaganda and recruiting throughout Bengal, he had sent a Bengali soldier of the Baroda Army. Later he went there himself (1904) and found that there were separate groups thinking on the same lines in Bengal. He had once contacted Tilak at the time of the Ahmedabad Congress and had an exchange of views. He was present at the Benares session of the Congress. So when he came on the Bengal scene, to join the *Bande Mataram* and the National College in August 1906, he had already resolved on taking active part in the work of national emancipation. The *Bande Mataram* itself was the result

of a joint endeavour of C. R. Das and other colleagues. Pal was to be the editor and Aurobindo was to assist him. At the same time, he took over the Principalship of the National College, then being founded under the auspices of the Bengal National Council of Education. Later on, Pal ceased to have connection with the paper. Under Aurobindo's guidance, the journal declared and developed a new political programme for the country as the programme of the Nationalist Party—Non-co-operation, Passive resistance, Swadeshi, Boycott, National education, settlement of disputes in law by popular arbitration and other items of his plan. At an earlier period, when he was on long leave from Baroda, besides carrying on personally the secret revolutionary work, he attended the Barisal Conference which was broken up by the police and toured East Bengal along with Bepin Chandra Pal and associated himself closely with the forward group in the Congress. He spoke thus about his objective in joining the movement:

"When we established this (National) College and left other occupations, other chances of life, to devote our lives to this institution, we did so because we hoped to see in it, the foundation, the nucleus, of a nation, of the New India which is to begin its career after this night of sorrow and trouble. What we want here, is not merely to give you a little information, not merely to open to you careers for earning the livelihood, but to build sons for the Mother-land to work and to suffer for her. There are times in a nation's history when Providence places before it, one work, one aim, to which everything else, has to be sacrificed. Such a time has now arrived for our Mother-land, when nothing is dearer than her service, when everything else is to be directed to the Mother. If you will study, study for her sake; train yourself, body, mind and soul, for her service .. Work

that she may prosper. Suffer that she may rejoice. All is contained in that single advice."

This was a new voice and a voice for which Young Bengal had been waiting. Tilak found a great ally in Aurobindo and their minds always ran in unison with each other.

About the same time that Shri Aurobindo came on the political scene, his brother Barindra Ghose also commenced his revolutionary activities. He had all along believed in a violent revolution as the means of India's emancipation. At his instance Aurobindo had, when in Baroda, sketched a scheme for the establishment of an institution, *Bhawani Mandir*, whose function was to prepare *Sannyasis* for participating in a revolution. Barindra had visited Bengal earlier but he had returned to Baroda without much response. He now put up an organised effort and started the *Yugantar* in Calcutta (August 1906). The paper preached open sedition and was written in such an,

> "attractive style, that the Government translator confessed in the Calcutta High Court, that nothing like these articles ever appeared in Bengali literature. He had never before read, in Bengali, languages so lofty, so pathetic and so stirring that it was impossible to convey it in an English translation."

In course of time, the sales increased to more than 50,000 copies a day, and sometimes there was such a great rush, that the last copies were sold for as much as a rupee. During 1906 and 1907, Barindra Babu was busy in organisation and propagation of his ideas. In December 1907, an attempt was made by an unknown person to blow up the train of Sir Andrew Frazer,



LOKAMANYA TILAK, 1906

the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, and Mr. George Allen, District Magistrate of Dacca was shot at. It was after the Muzafferpore happenings that police investigations disclosed the concerted organisation of Barindra Babu and his colleagues. He was ultimately sentenced to transportation for his activities. The revolutionary movement thus started, has a long career in Bengal and for a long time was quite a baffling problem to the authorities.

In the midst of these conflicting views, the course of action that the Congress would follow, was important, for the Congress was the one authorised organ of national opinion. Tilak felt that the Congress should pursue a bolder line of action than before. In an article, on the 10th July, he expressed himself as to what line should be. He said that we had an instructive example in the Irish struggle for political rights. The bureaucracy in India was unsympathetic; the people in England also naturally relied upon their own countrymen in India.

"There is a solitary liberal or two in England, and of what use is that to us? When one country rules over another, it does not do so on altruistic motives. The British rule in India is for the benefit of Englishmen and our rulers' policy has been to give some rights to Indians if their own interests are not affected..... Some of our people rely upon the sympathies of Mr. Morley, but he also bluntly tells us that a settled fact cannot be unsettled.....Our opinion is that we should not let our miseries before our rulers and make a request, because such requests are futile. The Indian National Congress should carefully think over all these matters and decide whether time has or has not come for making a change in their policy. Most of the Congress leaders are part-time workers and therefore our public agitations do not

succeed..... It is no use simply crying for rights or begging for them; we must insist upon our rights and do all that we can."

"No one wants to break the Congress; the only question is, whether we should be content with spending lakhs of rupees for either making a feeble cry once a year for our rights or sending a man for making prayers in England..... After the agitation against the Partition and after our experience of the last 60 years, we are fully convinced that we will get nothing by the present mendicant methods."

"It is true," he said, "that people have not yet developed adequate strength to destroy British rule and to establish Swaraj; but it is possible to make administration deplorably difficult and to create conditions impossible for the British bureaucracy, by fighting for our rights with determination and tenacity and by boycott and strikes. It has been well said that 'freedom's struggle once begun, is never lost, but ever won'."

All eyes were naturally towards the ensuing Session of the Congress in Calcutta. A proposal had been mooted to elect Lajpat Rai as the President of that Session, but Bhupendranath Basu anticipated any such eventuality and cabled to Dadabhai Naoroji to accept the presidentship and this suggestion was later endorsed by the Reception Committee. It was obvious that there would be a serious difference of opinion between the two wings of the Congress in the Session. Dadabhai accepted the invitation and his choice as President was welcomed on all hands.

The attendance of delegates at the Calcutta Congress was phenomenal. The welcome speech by Rash Behari Ghose was vigorous. He stoutly defended Swadeshi and Boycott and reminded the audience that the

wounds of Partition were still as sour as ever. Dadabhai Naoroji laid principal stress, in his address, on the demand for political rights, and said:

> "The whole matter can be compressed in one word "Self-Government" or Swaraj, like that of the United kingdom or the colonies."

He said that the response from the British had been so disappointing that though he himself had patience, another younger man in his position would have risen in rebellion. He called upon the people to take to ceaseless agitation for achieving the people's rights.

When the various matters came before the Subjects Committee, it was found that the one regarding National Education raised no difficulty. It was about the Boycott and Swadeshi resolutions, that there was bitter and acrimonious discussion in the Subjects Committee. Ultimately, owing to Naoroji's intervention a compromise was achieved and resolutions were passed in the open session declaring that the Boycott movement inaugurated in Bengal was legitimate and that *Swadeshi* should be observed, even at a sacrifice.

It might be remarked that the resolution on Boycott was more or less in the nature of a compromise. When this resolution came up before the open House, Pal said that it was not a mere boycott of goods, but one of offices and associations, with the Government in East Bengal. Malaviya, on the other hand, observed that the Congress should not be committed to the view of Pal and the extension of boycott. Gokhale said, that they were bound only by the resolution of the Congress, and

not by individual speeches. So, it was obviously with a mental reservation that both the contending parties accepted the resolution.

(*iii*) *Towards Resistance*

The resolutions of the Calcutta Session was more a success to the advanced section in the Congress. It became, therefore, necessary for the older section to define its attitude in respect of the various subjects of controversy. Gokhale elucidated his point of view in a speech on "The Work before us" at Allahabad, and another on the 'Swadeshi movement' at Lucknow. (February, 1907). First he defined the objective.

"Let me say", he said, "that I recognise no limits to my aspiration for our Motherland. I want our people to be in their own country what other people are in theirs .... I feel, at the same time that the whole of this aspiration can, in its essence and in its reality, be realised within this Empire."

About Swadeshi, he said, that Swadeshism, at its highest, was not merely an industrial movement, but that it affected the whole life of the nation. .... It invaded the whole man and it would not rest until it had raised the whole man. It was about the principle of Boycott that he was confronted with a difficulty.

"The use of the word 'Boycott' to convey this meaning, was, according to him, unfortunate, for 'Boycott' really implied a vindictive desire to injure another, even if one had to injure oneself to do so. This stirred up unnecessary ill-feeling against the Swadeshi cause and was calculated to pile up unnecessary difficulties in its path."

Referring to the political boycott that was being advocated in certain quarters, he considered it a preposterous thing that anybody should imagine that such a thing is feasible in the present state of the country. The boycott of schools, Government service and local bodies was futile under the circumstances. Speaking about national education, he said that though he recognised serious defects existing in the present system, it had done and was doing much good and that the fostering of the present national spirit was directly its outcome. The building up of national schools and colleges all over the country out of private resources, on any scale worth speaking about, would take years and years of time and a tremendous amount of sacrifice on the part of the people. Regarding the method of their work, he said, that their reliance must be on what was called constitutional agitation, defined as:

"Agitation by methods which they were entitled to adopt to bring about the changes they desired through the action of constituted authorities."

He said, barring rebellion, aiding a foreign invasion and resort to crime, all else was constitutional; prayers at the one end and passive resistance including non-payment of taxes at the other. The only question was what was wise and expedient? He said they must all resist, as much as they could, the trend to shift the foundations of their public life.

"Let us not forget," he said, "that we are at the stage of our country's progress, when our achievements are found to be small, and our disappointments frequent and trying. That is a place which Providence has assigned us in the struggle. It will be given to future generations to serve India by their successes, but they, of the

present generation, must be content to serve her mainly by their failures."

Tilak immediately joined issue on the points raised by Gokhale. He agreed that Gokhale's views about Swadeshi were much more advanced than those of some of his colleagues. If Gokhale had supported boycott of foreign goods, as far back as 1894, as a protest against the Cotton Excise Duties, what prevented him now from using boycott as a political weapon? Speaking about constitutional agitation, he said, that the terms do not apply to India but only to such countries where the constitution provides for popular control over the government.

'"There is no such constitution in India. The government in India is irresponsible and non-constitutional. Constituted authorities in India are irresponsible and we have to take our rights from them. The legality of our action is decided by this government. Our actions may be illegal according to their point of view, but we should not worry whether our agitation is legal or illegal. We must see whether justice, morality and historical tradition are in our favour or not, and if our actions are correct according to these standards, we should not care as to whether they come within the law or not; because, the power of making laws is in the hands of foreigners. Of course, it is true that the infringement of the law will result in punishment; but if the law is oppressive it should be resisted only suffering such punishment, there is no other way. This is bound to happen when law and morality are in conflict with each other."

In fact, the principle of passive resistance was coming more to the foreground than ever before. Surendra Nath had practised a type of passive resistance at Barisal; many others had already practised it by resis-

tance to the various repressive measures which banned processions and the like. Aurobindo, in a reply to Gokhale, said:

"We have told the people, that there is a peaceful means of achieving independence, in whatever form we aspire to it. We have said that by self-help, by passive resistance, we can achieve it. Passive resistance means two things. It means first that in certain matters we shall not co-operate with the Government of this country, until it gives us what we consider our rights. Secondly if we are persecuted, if the plough of repression is thrust upon us, we shall meet it not by violence but by suffering, by passive resistance by lawful means. We have not said to our youngmen 'when you are repressed, retaliate;' we have said, 'Suffer'....We are showing the people of this country, in passive resistance, the only way in which they can satisfy their legitimate aspirations without breaking the law and without resorting to violence."

He also said that their ideal of Swaraj involved no hatred of any other nation or the administration which is established by law in this country.

The same was the line taken by Pal. He had propounded complete independence as the logical objective of the nationalist movement. He said that their programme was that they would so work in the country, so combine the resources of the people, so organise the forces of the nation, that they would compel the submission to their will of any power that may set itself against them.

"We can make the administration impossible," he said, "by making it impossible for them to find people to serve them. The administration can be made impossible in a variety of ways." If they created that spirit in the

country, endless complications will arise in the work of the administration and; "if these complications are created in every part of the country, the administration would have been brought to a deadlock and made impossible; for, the primary thing is the prestige of the government and the boycott strikes at the root of that prestige."

Troubles now arose in the Punjab. The recent increase in the land assessment and a sudden rise in the irrigation rates and the Colonisation Bill altering the agreements by which the colonists held reclaimed land, created bitterness amongst the agriculturists. Indian opinion was also irritated by the continuous abuse and ridicule poured by the *Civil and Military Gazette* on educated Indians, spoken of by the paper as slaves and servile classes. While Government refused to prosecute that paper, the proprietor and the editor of the *Punjabee* were prosecuted and sentenced to imprisonment and fine, for comments on forced labour which had resulted in the death of two villagers. Disturbances occurred in Lahore and Rawalpindi, followed by prosecution of six prominent lawyers, who were detained as undertrials for six months and later acquitted. Meanwhile, some Anglo-Indian journals created a scare that there would be a rising on May 10th, the Fiftieth Anniversary of 1857, and Lala Lajpat Rai (May 9th) and Ajit Singh were suddenly deported without trial to Mandalay. These deportations added to the bitterness which already was growing. Government themselves realised the unwisdom of the proposed measures and the Colonisation Act was later on vetoed. Morley supported the deportation in Parliament (June 6, 1907), but ultimately both

Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were released on the 11th November, 1907.

During the whole of 1907, apart from writing articles in the *Kesari*, Tilak addressed meetings for popularising the movement and placing the work on a sound basis. He addressed meetings at Poona, Bombay, Nasik and Pandharpur and toured through the Karnatak districts, visiting Belgaum and Dharwar and several outlying villages. He organised collections for the work of the National Educational Institutions particularly the Samartha Vidyalaya. In the meantime, repression was being resorted to suppress the movement, particluarly in Bengal. Banning of processions and meetings, and arrests for breaking these bans, were the order of the day. The *Yugantar* was prosecuted five times during the first two years of its existence and each publisher who was sentenced refused to participate in the proceedings of the trial. Aurobindo himself was put on trial for a publication in the *Bande Mataram* but was acquitted for want of evidence. Pal was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for refusing to depose as a witness in that trial. The atmosphere was surcharged with resistance to authority. Eastern Bengal, particularly, was seething with discontent. A new movement to enrol national volunteers was set in motion and immediately took firm roots. The Partition Anniversary, on 16th October, was observed as usual. The Seditious Meetings Act was passed in November.

Writing about the numerous political cases that had been launched in Bengal, Punjab and Madras, Tilak said that the bureaucracy in India had grown autocratic like in Russia.

"To deport leaders without trial, to prohibit peaceful meetings like at Faridpur, to deprive guardians and students of their lawful rights, to sentence editors of newspapers like criminals to long sentences of five to seven years and to forfeit their presses, to keep respectable citizens as under-trials for months together as a consequence of some small fracas somewhere, to frighten people by secret police or to silence leaders or public lecturers by warning notices and the like, these and such like unjust and autocratic actions, being taken in India, are similar to the autocratic policy being adopted in Russia. This repressive policy is likely to result in similar consequences like in Russia. . . . . Let repression go on as you like, but remember though Indians are docile, there is a limit even to their patience."

The next session of the Congress was to have been held in Nagpur, according to the original arrangement. There was a move to elect Tilak as the President of this Session. But a three-fourth majority in the Reception Committee was required for the election of the President and the Nationalists could not command that majority for Tilak the All India Congress Committee decided ultimately, to hold the Session at Surat, then considered as a safe venue for the Moderates.

(iv) *The Surat Split and After*: 1907-1908

The Congress session at Surat was announced to meet on the 26th December. The Nationalist Party mustered strong three days earlier. A Nationalist Conference was held on the 24th, under the presidentship of Aurobindo, and decided to come to an agreement with their opponents, if the Calcutta resolutions were agreed to be reaffirmed, otherwise the election of Rash Behari Ghose as President was to be opposed. The draft resolutions were not yet forthcoming. On the 25th,

Tilak got a copy of the draft, regarding the proposed Constitution of the Congress, in which the objective of the Congress was defined as follows:

"The Indian National Congress has for its ultimate goal the attainment by India of Self-government similar to that enjoyed by other members of the British Empire."

Tilak explained, in a meeting, how this would exclude the Nationalists from the Congress. An attempt was made to contact Gokhale and the other leaders of the Moderate Party but no response was forthcoming. On the 26th, Banerjea was contacted by Tilak and other leaders and was informed that the Nationalist opposition to the election of the President would be withdrawn, on the assurance, that the *status quo* would be maintained and that a graceful mention would be made of the desire of the public to elect Lala Lajpat Rai. Banerjea agreed to the latter proposal and regarding the first, while he could not give an assurance himself, he asked Tilak to see Gokhale, or Malvi, the Chairman of the Reception Committee. But Malvi could not be found. The Reception Committee had, on the 24th, elected Rash Behari Ghose as the President in the face of opposition from the younger section.

When the Congress met on the 26th, at 2-30 p.m., no assurance about the maintenance of *status quo* was forthcoming and Tilak got a copy of the draft resolutions only at 3 p.m. on that day. The Chairman of the Reception Committee opened the proceedings of the Session with a speech condemning the repressive measures being adopted by the Government. Ambalal Desai then proposed Rash Behari Ghose as President, but when Surendra Babu rose to second the resolution, there was

vociferous shouting and the Session had to be adjourned. An attempt to fix a meeting between Tilak and Gokhale on that night failed, and inspite of the wishes of Tilak and his colleagues, no response was forthcoming from the opposite party for an understanding. Under the circumstances, Tilak decided to move a formal amendment that the Session should be adjourned and that a Committee of representative Moderates and Nationalists from each province be appointed for resolving the differences and that when the differences were so resolved, they should proceed to the unanimous election of the President. He sent word with two intermediaries to convey the proposal but they returned and said that nothing could be done. Tilak then wrote to Malvi that he wished to address the delegates on the proposal of the election of the President, after it was seconded, and that he wished to move an adjournment with a constructive proposal. The proceedings of the session commenced at 1 p.m., on the 27th, when Surendra Nath continued his unfinished speech of the previous day, and as soon as he finished, Tilak proceeded to come to the platform and inspite of obstruction from a volunteer, he got there just when Ghose was moving to take the chair. Ghose said that his election was already over and Tilak retorted that he was not yet elected and that he had come there to bring an amendment to the proposal. Immediately an uproar arose from all sides. Ghose and Malvi said that Tilak should be removed from the platform. Pushing aside a young man, the Secretary of the Reception Committee who touched Tilak's person to carry out the Chairman's orders, Tilak declared that he would not leave the platform unless bodily removed. What happened then may be related

in the words of Henry Nevinson, a representative of a British Liberal paper, then touring India to study the Indian situation:

"In inaudible words Mr. Malvi proposed that Dr. Ghose should take the Chair as President, and amid shouting he declared the motion carried. Heavy with years and knowledge, Dr. Ghose transferred himself to the seat, and rose at once to deliver that thoughtfully prepared address. 'Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,' he began, 'my first duty is to tender you my thanks for the signal honour you have done me'."

Beyond his first duty he never went. As when lightning flashes in air surcharged with storm, Mr. Tilak was seen standing straight in front of the Presidential Chair itself, expostulating, protesting, all in that calm decisive voice of his, the voice of a man indifferent to fate. He had given notice of an amendment, he was there to move it, and there he would remain.

" 'You cannot move an adjournment of the Congress,' cried Mr. Malvi, 'I declare you out of order.' 'I wish to move an amendment to the election of President, and you are not in the Chair,' Mr. Tilak replied. 'I declare you out of order!' cried Dr. Ghose. 'You have not yet been elected!' answered Mr. Tilak; 'I appeal to the delegates.' Uproar drowned the rest. With folded arms, Mr. Tilak faced the audience. On either side of him, young Moderates sprang to their feet, wildly gesticulating vengeance. Shaking their fists and yelling to the air, they clamoured to hurl him down the steep platform. Behind him, Dr. Ghose mounted the table, and ringing an unheard bell, harangued the storm in shrill, agitated, unintelligible denunciations. Restraining the rage of Moderates, ingeminating peace if ever

man ingeminated, Mr. Gokhale, sweet-natured even in extremes, stood beside his old opponent, flinging out both arms to protect him from the threatened onset. But Mr. Tilak asked for no protection. He stood there with folded arms, defiant, calling on violence to do its worst, calling on violence to move him, for he would move for nothing else in hell or heaven. In front, the white-clad audience roared like a tumultous sea. Suddenly something flew through the air—a shoe!—a Mahratta shoe!—reddish leather, pointed toe, sole studded with lead. It struck Surendra Nath Banerjea on the cheek, it cannoned off upon Sir Pherozeshah. It flew, it fell, and, as at a given signal, white waves of turbaned men surged up the escarpment of the platform. Leaping, climbing, hissing the breath of fury, brandishing long sticks, they came, striking at any head that looked to them Moderate, and in another moment, between brown legs standing upon the green-baize table, I caught glimpses of the Indian National Congress dissolving in chaos. Like Goethe, at the battle of Valmy, I could have said, 'to-day marks the beginning of a new era, and you can say that you were present at it.' All the leaders then left the platform but the camp followers continued their fight till the police arrived, and cleared the pandal."

As a matter of fact, it transpired, that the draft resolution on Swadeshi had omitted all reference to the words "even at a sacrifice". But Gokhale explained later on, that this omission was unintentional. The draft of the Boycott resolution changed the wording from from 'Boycott' to "Boycott of foreign (British) goods". In the draft on National Education the words 'on national lines and national control' were

omitted and instead a reference to 'an independent system of education' was substituted. The proposed changes, it will be noted, were vital and purported to support moderate points of view on these subjects. What was worse were the observations made by Ghose in his draft address. He had said about the New Party:

> "Every sensible man disapproves of its methods; if the Government can only rally the Moderates to their side, by gradually preparing the country to take its position as a self-governing State or a Federation of States, united together under the supreme authority of England, they will extinguish the new party completely, and the condemned shadow, which has projected itself over the future fortunes of the country, will disappear. The bureaucracy, however, is unable to distinguish or refuses to distinguish between those who earnestly seek for reform and the irresponsible agitators, who would have nothing to do with the Government. They are all tarred with the same brush. Those who demand a larger share in the administration of their country, as essential to the welfare and stability of the British Government, are confounded with the pestilent demagogue, who would drive the hatred foreigner into the sea."

In view of the change proposed in the draft resolutions, and these observations by Ghose, the New party had every justification to stand firmly, by what they considered to be right.

In the meantime, Gokhale was pursuing a policy which, under the circumstances, he thought to be right. He believed in moderation from the time that he came under the influence of Ranade, and 'Moderation' was one of the principles on which the Deccan Sabha was founded with Ranade's blessings in 1896. Gokhale instinctively shrank from the vigorous line which Tilak

was pursuing. While he denounced the partition and wished that it should be reversed, he urged the speedy introduction of political reforms, as repeatedly demanded by the Congress. He had a talk with Morley during his visit to England in 1905. He renewed the talks in 1906. Morley found him to be useful in restraining the strong current of democratic feeling in the Commons. He described him as one who "has a politician's head; appreciates executive responsibility; has an eye for the tactics of practical innocence." Of course, Gokhale told Morley of his ultimate hope and design, India to be on the footing of a self-governing colony; Morley, in turn, expressed his conviction, "that, for many a day, long beyond the short span of time that may be left to us, this was a dream". He further told Gokhale that there was only one thing that could spoil the reforms under consideration:

"Perversity and unreasoning in your friends. If they kept up the ferment in East Bengal, that will only make it hard or even impossible for Government to move a step. I ask you for no sort of engagement. You must of course be the judge of your own duty, and I am aware that you have your own difficulties......If your speakers and newspapers set to work to belittle what we do, to clamour for the impossible, then all will go wrong."[1]

Gokhale agreed most cordially with what Morley had said and assured him that he had written to his friends in India and "pitched a most friendly and hopeful note".

Gokhale steered his course, obviously, in accordance with his own convictions and the understanding

1. Morley: *Recollections*, Vol. II, pp. 181-182.

that he had given to Morley. Morley's analysis, after he assumed office, was that the Moderates should be rallied and that repression should be resorted to, to suppress extreme opinion. At the same time, a Moderate Scheme of reforms should be evolved, to withstand the rising tide of nationalist forces. In a speech to his constituents at Arbroath, he said:

"To say, that whatever is good in the way of self-government in Canada must be good for India, was the grossest fallacy in all politics...."

Referring to the Extremists and Moderates, he said:

"Anybody who has read history knows, that the Extremists beat the Moderates by their fiery energy, their very narrowness in concentration, but still we hold that it would be the height of political folly for us, at this moment, to refuse to do all that we can to rally the Moderates to the cause of government, simply because the policy will not satisfy the Extremists. Let us, if we can, rally the Moderates, and if we are told that the policy will not satisfy the Extremists, so be it; our line will remain the same..... Some of them (leaders of the Unrest) are angry with me. Why? Because I have not been able to give them the moon. I have got no moon, and if I had, I would not part with it."[2]

It was about this time that Henry Nevinson interviewed Tilak at Singarh. Giving a pen-picture of Tilak, he said:

"Bal Gangadhar Tilak appeared to be about ten years older than Mr. Gokhale, but it is difficult to tell his age, for if ever he takes off his Mahratta turban, one sees his head shaven to the back, where the hair grows in a long, black, tuft, as is the fashion of his race or

2. Morley: *Indian Speeches*, p. 41.

caste. His full, brown eyes are singularly brilliant, steady with daring, rather aggressive. But his general manner is very quiet and controlled, and both in conversation and public speaking he talks in brief, assured sentences, quite free from rhetoric, outwardly passionless even in moments of the highest passion, and seldom going beyond the statement of facts, or, rather, of his aspect of facts at the time."

In the course of the conversation, Tilak gave him a succinct but clear idea of the objectives of the new party and its precise differences from the old.

"It is not by our purpose, but by our methods only" he said, "that our party has earned the name of Extremists. Certainly, there is a very small party which talks about abolishing the British Rule at once and completely; that does not concern us; it is much too far in the future. Unorganised, disarmed, and still disunited we should not have a chance of shaking the British suzerainty. We may leave all that sort of thing to a distant time....... Our remote ideal is a confederacy of Indian Provinces, possessing Colonial Self-government, with all Imperial questions set apart for the Central Government in England."

"But the ideal also", he went on, "is far ahead of us—perhaps generations ahead. What we aim at doing now is to bring pressure on the bureaucracy; to make it feel that all is not well".

After referring to the reactionary policy of the bureaucracy, he said:

"I know the worst that you can say about the Russian bureaucracy; but even that bureaucracy does, according to its lights, seek to maintain the honour and prosperity of Russia, because Russia is its own country. Our bureaucracy administers a country, not of its own, for the sake of a country far away, entirely different

in character and interests. Our bureaucracy is despotic, alien, and absentee."

The so-called Moderates, he said, still hoped to influence public opinion; but the Extremists were disappointed and had determined on other methods. "It is a matter of temperament", he said, "and the younger men are with us. Our motto is 'Self-reliance, not Mendicancy'."

"Besides the ordinary Swadeshi movement" he continued, "we work by boycott and passive resistance.... and in passive resistance, we shall simply refuse to notice such measures, as the Seditious Meetings Act; but we do not care what happens to ourselves. We are devoted absolutely and without reservation to the cause of the Indian peoples. To imprison even 3,000 or 4,000 of us at the same time would embarrass the bureaucracy. That is our object—to attract the attention of England to our wrongs by diverting trade and obstructing the Government..... Our unity will not be complete, perhaps, for generations yet, but it is the goal to which our faces are now set, and we shall not turn back."

Immediately after the break up of the Surat Session of the Congress, the Moderates met and appointed a Committee to draw up a constitution of the Congress. The Committee met at Allahabad, in April 1908, and laid down that:

"The objectives of the Indian National Congress are the attainment, by the people of India, of a system of government, similar to that enjoyed by the Self-Governing members of the British Empire, and a participation by them, in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those Members. These objectives are to be achieved by constitutional means, by bringing about steady reforms of the existing system of administration, and by promoting national unity, fostering

public spirit, and developing and organising the intellectual, economic, and industrial resources of the country,"

And that every delegate shall accept the objectives of the Congress as thus laid down. Tilak's first instinct after the breaking up of the Session was to join the meeting of the Moderates, but at the instance of leaders like Aurobindo Ghose and his own followers, principally from the Central Provinces, he agreed to keep aloof. It appears that the breaking up of the Session was decided upon by his own followers without Tilak's knowledge. The Nationalist Convention held on the 28th December, decided to work along the lines laid down by the new party.

Tilak continued his work undaunted by the Surat split. He helped in organising the publication of a nationalist Marathi daily newspaper, *Rashtramat*, in Bombay and in placing the Samartha Vidyalaya on a sound footing. The Poona District Conference met on the 27th April and reiterated the Calcutta Resolutions. A little earlier, the Bengal Provincial Conference met at Pabna under the presidentship of Rabindra Nath Tagore, in which the Resolutions about Swadeshi and Boycott were reaffirmed, and about the Resolution regarding Self-Government, it was agreed that the objective should be defined as colonial self-government, and that the Nationalist Party should be allowed to explain its stand. Both Surendra Nath Banerjea and Aurobindo Ghose were present at the meeting. The United Provinces Conference adopted the attitude of the Moderates under the guidance of Madan Mohan Malaviya. Tilak tried his best to bring about unity in the Congress, but he could not succeed. But the subject, that engaged at this time Tilak's attention most, was the Temperance

movement, which was then being effectively carried on in the Bombay Province through the joint efforts of both the sections. Picketing was resorted to successfully, and the Government began to prosecute the volunteers. A protest meeting was organised, (23rd April, 1908), under the presidentship of Dr. Bhandarkar to protest against the repressive orders of the Government.

Tilak kept on his unceasing propaganda. He addressed a series of meetings at Sholapur in February and visited the Central Provinces in April, addressing huge meetings at Akola and other places. He was, as always, outspoken and blunt in the expression of his views. Speaking on the life of Ramdas at Sholapur he exhorted the people:

"Therefore have faith, make your mind strong, have faith in religion and God. Religion and practical life are not different. To take to *Sanyas* is not to abandon life. The real spirit is to make the country your family instead of working only for your own. The step beyond it is to serve humanity and the next step is to serve God."

At another meeting, he said: "Have faith in God and strengthen your will and God will help you. The wheel of our country has gone down to its *nadir;* lift it up;" "You are your own enemy," he said, "and you are your own friend. First you must help yourself. No one will help us unless we are courageous". Speaking at a meeting in Bombay (9th March), held for congratulating Bepin Chandra Pal on his release, he said:

"We are happy that Bepin Babu has been released; but our sorrow is, that we could not prevent his imprisonment. We have become very feeble! Combine love, sorrow and bitterness about the unjust imprisonment."

At Dhulia, he called upon the people to cast all fear. "Achieve what you want and refuse what you do not; be united and you will succeed. God helps those who are in distress. If you forget the country, you will die, one by one." At a meeting at Akola, he said:

"The rulers are much afraid of Boycott. They feel that the boycott of foreign goods will develop into a boycott of British Rule altogether. Hinduism does not teach hatred, and we are charged with promoting such hatred! Our boycott is not inspired by a spirit of hatred." To the younger generation, he said:

"The responsibility of making this movement successful, entirely rests with the new generation; I do not blame the old; I also belong to that category. The older people cannot grasp new ideas on account of long habit. My request to them is, do not strain yourself. Allow the new generation to go ahead; they will bear the consequences. They are standing on our shoulders and they have therefore a larger vision. My appeal to the younger generation is, find out a new way; achieve what we could not achieve; it is God's will that you should achieve it. .... The pinnacle of the temple of freedom is visible; sympathise with those who are erring; the movement has not been started to condemn anyone; this pilgrimage has been inspired by God. Those who want to come will find accommodation; those who do not want to come should not obstruct us. We are certain that our objective will succeed."

Tilak addressed meetings of labourers in Bombay and exhorted them to eschew intoxicating drinks. He said:

"Bombay belongs to you. It does not belong to the rich. If some one asks me to whom Bombay belongs, I will say it belongs to the labourers. If you do not work, Bombay mills will have to be closed. .... Do not think that you labourers belong to the lowly classes.

Saints were born amongst the labouring classes and we Brahmins place our head at their feet. They showed the way of religion to Brahmins. Convey my message to those who are absent today, to see this work to a successful end. This is your religion."

Addressing a meeting at Poona (10th June), he said:

"Difficult times are ahead; work has begun in the country; the fight has just begun; you cannot achieve anything if you succumb to depression; your work is full of difficulties and dangers. The way is hard; we have to travel far; the preparation has to be open and in a legitimate manner....Difficulties will come, many will have to lose their lives, but remember that one day we shall succeed .... We might have to recede a step or two, but our progress is sure. There might be darkness before us; but remember that there is a light beyond!"

He perhaps had a premonition of what was coming, and, in one of the meetings he exclaimed:

"Listen to me! listen to the words of a man on whose head, the sword of Government's wrath is hanging every moment!"

CHAPTER XIII

THE GREAT TRIAL: 1908

The Swadeshi movement was being prosecuted with vigour as related in the previous chapter. The Boycott was undoubtedly effective. The Commissioner of Burdwan wrote (1906-07) that the Swadeshi movement had contributed largely to the development of the cotton cloth industry in almost all the districts of that Division. The Magistrate of Hooghly reported that the weavers as a class had distinctly advanced on account of the Swadeshi movement. Apart from helping the indigenous industry, the Swadeshi movement had resulted in the new spirit of resistance which permeated Bengal, Maharashtra, Karnatak, the Central Provinces, and Berar, parts of the Madras Presidency, and many other regions in the country. Repression had failed to cow down the spirit of the people. In the midst of this restlessness, a young Bengali threw a bomb into a carriage killing two ladies, at Muzafferpore; it appeared he wanted to kill Kingsford, the Presidency Magistrate, but he had made a mistake.

The advent of the bomb threw the bureaucracy into a panic. The Governor of Bombay decided to prosecute Tilak for sedition, and two articles were chosen for the purpose. Tilak was arrested in Bombay on the 24th June and placed before the Chief Presidency Magistrate. The case was committed to the High Court where it came up for hearing on the 13th July. A special Jury was chosen of 7 Europeans and 2 Indians. The charges

were under Sec. 124A and 153A, I.P.C. The opening address by Counsel for the Prosecution, and the evidence for the prosecution, which consisted mainly of the oriental translator, who was vigorously cross-examined by Tilak himself, were over on the 15th. Tilak pleaded 'not guilty' and said that the articles charged were part of a controversy between the pro-Indian and the anti-Indian parties. Extracts of newspaper articles were put in evidence on both sides, and Tilak commenced his address to the Jury on the afternoon of the same day. He concluded his address on the 22nd July after speaking for more than 20 hours. The Advocate General replied and after the Judge's summing up, the Jury retired for more than an hour and gave its verdict. The verdict was by a majority of seven to two (the latter being Indians) that Tilak was guilty of the three charges under both the sections.

The first article indicted, and published on the 12th May, dealt with the 'country's misfortune.' Its general thesis was that while those responsible for happenings like the one in Muzafferpore should be punished and while their action could not be approved by any sensible man, the main remedy lay in Government taking a lesson from such outrages and introducing reforms to the satisfaction of the people. The principal points made in the article, *seriatim*, were as follows: The bomb does not appear to have been thrown either out of personal hatred or by some *Badmash.* The secret organisation had obviously been formed, not for the sake of self-interest, but owing to the exasperation produced by the unrestrained and powerful bureaucracy. The conditions in Russia have been brought about here, and it is not unnatural that a few people should lose their head.

More experienced leaders can restrain their indignation but everybody cannot be expected to do that. Under the circumstances, Government should follow a policy of enlightened self-interest and try to consult the people. Instead, they take to repressive acts, and horrible deeds by some exasperated people are the result. Even Gokhale had warned Government that Russian methods of administration would compel adoption of the Russian revolutionary methods. The Anglo-Indian newspapers are ascribing such happenings to writings of Indian leaders. Some people believe in petitions and prayers, some others believe in resistance. It is not unnatural that some solitary individuals will go beyond these limits out of a sense of exasperation. Government might be able to stop such outrages by harsh measures for the time being; but so long as the disease remains, troubles are bound to follow.

"It is a misfortune both for the rulers and the ruled, that such time should befall a mild country like India, which is naturally loyal and averse to horrible deeds. There is no difference of opinion that such outrages should be immediately stopped, but the remedies for their recurrence should be adopted with foresight. The stability of the Government as such cannot be affected by such murders. No sensible man will approve of this excess or sinful deed .... All heartily desire that such improper things should not take place .... We have already said above that the Muzafferpore affair was not proper and that it was regrettable. But if the causes which give rise to it remain permanent in the future, exactly as they are at present, then in our opinion it is not possible that such terrible occurrences will stop altogether .... Reform of the administration is the only medicine to be administered for this disease.... The Government official class may, perhaps, dislike this writing of ours, but we cannot help it, for,

as a poet has said, 'Words both sweet and beneficial are hard to obtain."

The article finally advises, that such undesirable incidents are to be stopped. Government should, in the first instance, impose restrictions upon their system of administration.

The second article under indictment, published on the 9th June, dealt with the Seditious Meetings Act recently passed. It said that liberty of speech and liberty of the Press gave birth to a Nation and nourished it, and the bureaucracy taking advantage of bomb in Bengal wanted to suppress both. The desire to suppress the bomb was laudable but the real way to stop the bomb was to take such measures as to make the people not feel inclined at all to take to the bombs. The Indians had been completely disarmed, so as to crush out the spirit of the Nation. Even the Mughals did not do it and obviously the British Government in India was not as strong militarily as the Mughals. The bomb has reduced the importance of military strength. It cannot be easily stopped. "The bomb has more the form of knowledge. It is a kind of witchcraft, it is a charm, an amulet. It can be easily manufactured, and such manufacture cannot be easily stopped, especially in view of the growing scientific knowledge. To stop the bomb, Government should go in such a way that no turn-headed man feels any necessity at all for throwing bombs. The real and lasting means of stopping bombs consists of making a beginning of grants for rights of Swaraj. It is not possible for the measures of repression to have a lasting effect in the present condition of Western science and that of the people of India."

The prosecution had put in some articles to provoke the intention of the writer. One of them appeared in the *Kesari* of the 19th May under the caption "A double hint." The article was mainly directed to the condemnation of some Indians, who not only disowned their own connection with outrages, but urged Government to stop the writings and speeches, which were the cause of these shocking deeds. The writer considered it reprehensible that "any one for any reason should take the life of another by bombs or by any other means." It had no sanction of the code of morality and it would not shake the British rule. The admission, that such horrible deeds were excited by the writings or lectures of some political agitators, was suicidal in extreme. No one was against expressing disapproval of murder, but it was wrong to say that such turn-headed acts were the result of strong writings or speeches of political agitators. Everyone cannot have the patience of Dadabhai Naoroji, and it is not unnatural that some people are driven to desperation. History is witness to the fact that irresponsible rule always creates discontent. The Calcutta bomb was a symptom of intolerable defects in the existing political system, and Government should take a warning from what had happened.

"It is the experience of history, that in consequence of such a mistake, even constitutional agitation eventually acquires the form of a revolution; if this experience or this suggestion of taking the warning is not acceptable, we are helpless .... Finding out the truth, and regulating one's conduct in accordance with it, is the sole single remedy."

Another article put in to prove the intention, was the one that appeared in the *Kesari* on 26th May and

was captioned "The real meaning of the Bomb." The main point in the article was that it was the oppression practised by the bureaucracy that had brought in the bomb. Wedderburn had said that obstinacy gave birth to the bomb. Henry Cotton said that the Bengalee youths, having been subjected to the punishment of flogging became naturally exasperated in consequence of the disgrace and joined the Bomb party. The officials became turn-headed, the Bengalee youths also became turn-headed. Government should convert them by granting Swaraj. The bomb was only an index of people's exasperation. There was a conflict between Indian nationalism and Government, and this conflict is likely to result in a revolution. Acts of violence and recklessness like the bomb are an indication of what was coming. Revolution had not yet begun in India but it was to begin hereafter. Government should, therefore, seize the coming time by the forelock, and "instead of leaving to the people the work of bringing about the revolution, they should of their accord begin to effect proper reforms in the system of administration." A third article, that was produced in support of the prosecution case, was the one titled "The secret of the Bomb," published on the 2nd June. It said that the bomb outrage, like Rand's murder, was an eye-opener to the Government. Government revised their policy about plague measures after Rand's murder. Government should also realise from the bomb, that their policy also required a revision.

"When a man refuses to learn the wisdom from the stumble of death, he becomes the cause of his real ruin." The authorities had got this opportunity to see calmly what the real state of things was. The people had

developed a powerful desire for control over administration, and if Government did not respond to the situation, then some impatient persons will not fail to bring about, 'secretly, deviously and improperly,' the achievement of popular rights. If Government did not want that, they should understand the real secret of the bomb, give up measures of repression and grant the people the rights of *Swarajya.*

The articles in question, thus, were a severe comment on the repressive policy of the bureaucracy, and they urged the concession of substantial political rights to the people, if such atrocities were to be prevented.

Tilak defended himself and delivered his address, which was remarkable for clarity of thought and vigour of diction. His main point was that the articles were written with the definite view of putting up a case, on behalf of the people, for the establishment of political rights as the only sure method of stopping the atrocities. The atrocities themselves were reprehensible, but they were the result of the policy of repression adopted by the Government and not of the writings in Nationalist Press. He took up first the question, as to how and what would be the requirement for the articles to attract provisions under 124A and 153A. There was no evidence that any excitement had been actually caused by the articles in question, and therefore, they had to see whether there was any attempt to excite disaffection towards Government. The word, disaffection, also includes disloyalty and feelings of enmity. An attempt must show some intentional premeditated action, which if it fails, fails through circumstances beyond the person's control. Now there was no such

evidence at all. In order to make an article a libel, there must be a criminal mind behind it; mere publication of language, calculated to excite disaffection, would not be sufficient. The explanations to the section saved comments expressing disapprobation of government measures, without exciting disaffection. Now the prosecution should have proved, that the writings are not saved by the explanations, which, they have not done. Of course, even disapprobation necessarily implies exciting some bad feeling. A man urging the change in the system of administration for the better without creating any disaffection, may freely express opinion. In section 153A also intention is necessary, and such intention must be proved by facts:

"Tilak, or no Tilak, is not the question. I wish to show you that mine is an article written as a reply to an opponent. It was penned to defend the interest of my community. You may not agree with me in my views .... I have not come here to argue any grace. I am prepared to stand by the consequences of my act. There is no question about it. I am not going to tell you, that I wrote the article in a fit of madness. I am not a lunatic. I have written it, believing it my duty to write it in the interest of the public. .... I know I am not a *persona grata* with the Government, but that is no reason why I should not have justice. My personality is not the question."

Tilak then adverted to the fact, that the liberty of the Press was protected by the Jury in England. He referred to principal case-law on the point, mentioning the cases of the Dean of St. Aseph, (1792), Regina Vs. Lambert and Parry (1793), Rex Vs. John Burns (1888). Tilak urged, that if the jury thought that he was fighting for the liberty of the people, for a change in the

constitution for a reform of government, then it would be their duty to acquit him.

Coming to the subject-matter of the articles, he said, that it was his duty, as representing a large number of the community, to impress upon Government, the causes of the unrest which resulted in the bomb outrages. The articles were written in the performance of that duty and not for exciting disaffection against the Government. And he, therefore, proposed to invite their attention to what appeared in other papers, so that they could better appreciate the atmosphere in which he wrote those articles. For instance, newspapers like the *Pioneer* ascribed the bomb to the popular agitation and so did the *Times of India* and the *London Times.* The view that he put forward was that bombs can be stopped, not by putting down the movement, but by putting down the bureaucracy first, or reforming it. Indian newspapers should certainly have the opportunity enjoyed by the Anglo-Indian Press. Referring to the translations, he said that the errors made some portions of the article look stronger than what they were; for instance, the original words "despotic and arbitrary", used to describe the official class, have been translated as "tyrannical and oppressive." Pointing out many more instances, he said, "now, when there are so many inaccuracies, would you say it is my duty to find their mistakes? 'Certainly not. I am not called here to correct the translations of the High Court translator' *Gratis.* (Laughter)".

Reverting to his argument that the articles were part of a controversy between the Anglo-Indian and the Native communities or rather pro-bureaucratic and the

anti-bureaucratic parties, he said, there was a real opposition of interest between the two parties. The object of the article of 19th May was to convey a hint or warning to both sides and to the Government. He then referred to the views urged by the pro-Government Anglo-Indian journalists. The *Pioneer* had recommended that "a wholesale arrest of the acknowledged terrorists in a city or district, coupled with a declaration that on the next repetition of the events, ten of them would be shot for every life sacrificed, would soon put down the practice if it should become necessary." The *Asian* had said "Mr. Kingsford has a great opportunity and we hope he is a fairly decent shot at short range .. He will be more than justified in letting daylight into every strange native, approaching his house and his person." The *Statesman* (May 5) described the leaders of the new school as apostles of violence. It was also suggested by the *Pioneer* that people should be prohibited from all public meetings. All these articles were before the public. "We honestly believe, that these writings were mischievous, particularly the insinuations of those writers, and they had to be counteracted. What were we to do? Not put comments in our paper contradicting it? If we had used any equally strong terms, should we have been allowed to do so actually?" Various Indian newspapers had expressed themselves against the views of the Anglo-Indian papers. The *Bengalee* had said that the bureaucratic form of Government and its advocates and champions must share with the nationalists and their movements the responsibility for having brought bomb for ever into existence. It said that the policy of the last sixteen years, marked by reaction and repression, was responsible for the present deplorable state of affairs.

The *Modern Review* had said that it was repression that had led to the outrages and deplored that the devotion, daring, truthfulness, steadfast loyalty and skill of the revolutionaries was not available for the uplift of India. Other papers like the *Indian World*, the *Hindu*, the *Indian Patriot*, had urged the necessity of taking to reforms to avoid undesirable happenings. Even moderate newspapers like the *Tribune*, the *Indian Spectator*, the *Guzerati* and the *Indu Prakash* have also countered the view that terrorism could be suppressed by repressive measures, which were really themselves the cause of such terrorist activities. Then there were views expressed in England. Even Lord Morley had admitted, that it is the duty of the Government at this time, to reconcile the maintenance of order with political progress. Wedderburn had observed that the policy of repression was the "direct parent of the outrage we deplore". Henry Cotton had said: "We have bred a gang of seditious youths, who have been goaded by the infliction of floggings for political offences into this kind of crime." Some other opinions in England were also on the same lines. A moderate leader, like Gokhale, had said that the remedy for unrest was not mere repression but a course of conciliation. Rash Behari Ghose had presaged another Ireland in the East, if repression continued. Now, said Tilak, that is exactly what the articles under question have said. "The bureaucracy does not like power to pass over from their hands but it would be wise for them to do so and they should take a warning from this under the existing circumstances. The article discountenanced murder. "We do not want these wicked outrages. We advised people to stop them; if our advice is not followed, what can we do? The article, under ques-

tion, is an answer to those in the Anglo-Indian Press. I am not ashamed to own it. It has been written for that purpose and I want to explain to you the purpose for which it is written." He further quoted William Blunt and Bryan in support of the description of bureaucracy as despotic.

Proceeding to the article of 2nd June, he said, it was to warn the people and the Government, that those who attribute the atrocities to national agitation were not representatives. Coming to the second article under indictment, Tilak said that the object was not to incite murder. It only shows the trend of public opinion regarding the Explosive Substances Act. The main idea is that such repressive measures would be useless and that something more was necessary.

The main point, urged by Tilak, throughout the defence, was that the articles were an answer to those appearing in the Anglo-Indian press and that their only object was to urge, that it was not repressive measures but concession of popular rights, that was the real remedy of the situation. He also claimed the right of private defence against unwarranted attacks. "Reputation is considered a valuable property. If certain newspapers charge me with bad motives, and they say, that certain individuals ought to be whipped by sweepers in the public streets, there is surely some right, I maintain a legal right", and he claimed that anything said in self-defence did not come under the Penal Code. He also urged that isolated passages could not be given unnecessary importance; the language of the articles might have been strong, but they should consider the stress and strain

under which an editor works and had no time to wait and consider his wording.

Winding up his case, Tilak complemented the Advocate-General for his courtesy. "I do not possess his learning and ability, and so, I can only place my case before the jury from a commonsense point of view." Summing up his case, he said, that his articles had said nothing new, and that there was nothing to excite feelings against the Government. The bomb outrage was quickly condemned in his paper. "We condemn it, but in condemning it, we say that we should also condemn the repressive measures of the Government." Appealing to the jury he said, "You are proud of your traditions. You have got liberty of the Press after a long struggle, and I believe that you attach more importance to this, than even we do here. I can trace a great struggle between the people on the one hand, and the mighty bureaucracy on the other, and I ask you to help us, not me, personally, but the whole of India, in our endeavours to obtain a share in the Government of this country. The matter has come to a critical stage; we are in want of help; you can give it to us. I am now on the wrong side of my life, according to the Indian standard of life. For me it can only be a matter of a few years, but future generations will look to your verdict and see whether you have judged wrong or right. The verdict may likely be a memorable one in the history of the freedom of the Indian press... If at least one of you would come forward and say that I was right in what I did, it would be a matter of satisfaction to me .. It would be a moral support on which I would rely with great satisfaction".

Concluding Tilak said,

"I know that there are certain prejudices against me. I request you to keep aside those prejudices. Judge me on facts. I have told you perhaps bluntly what I have done. I have concealed nothing from you. I appeal to you, not for myself, but for the interest of the cause, which I have the honour to represent. It is a cause that is sacred, and, I doubt not, Gentlemen, that He, before whom all of us will have to stand one day and render an account of our actions, will inspire you with the courage of your conviction and help you in arriving at a right decision on the issue involved in this case."

In his reply, the Advocate-General began by urging that the truth of the language charged with sedition cannot be pleaded or proved, "and supposing that there were things which would be better for reformation, supposing everything alleged against Government in the articles was true, that was no defence whatever if the articles came within the provisions of Section 124A." Secondly, what he (Tilak) now said, he meant by those articles, was not the point. "He has been trying his best, to throw all the dust, he could collect even in the monsoon weather, into your eyes on this point. It was not true that the Jury were the guardians of the Press. "Fiddlesticks! You are guardians of the Press, no more than I am. Before God, you are guardians of the Penal Code, and the Penal Code protects the Press." He did not dispute, that there was a right of discussion, but it had legal limitations. Coming to the articles themselves, it was no reply to say, that the articles were in refutation of some other matter arising in a controversy if they attracted the provisions of Section 124A. The motive of an action is not always relevant. The intention should be gathered from the articles themselves. "His inten-

tion is obvious from the way he describes the bomb." He says, "if you maintain order, you are entering upon a course of repression, and if you do not stop it, we warn you, bombs will continue." Whether Tilak was right or wrong, there can be no question that his doctrine is subversive to the Government. But the whole object of all these articles, is, to show, first of all, that it is due to the action of the White bureaucracy in India, that certain young men in Bengal have become turn-headed and taken to bomb throwing. That is held up for the public as being the course to be adopted..... Throughout, the the whole burden of the song in these articles runs in this strain: "You have an alien Government; get rid of it as soon as you can. In other countries bombs are thrown, well, select bombs."

Regarding the article of 2nd June, he observed, the tenor is: "Well, you have a cause of patriotism and approach the Government with it in the shape of bombs and you will get your desires."

Summing up about all the articles in question, he said: "I contend that if you look at all these articles you will find that they are all influenced by the same desire —the desire to bring the Government of India into hatred and contempt, on grounds of its acting with obstinacy and oppression."

He supported the observations made in the opening remarks of his colleague, Mr. Inverarity, who said that it was a gross libel on British Government to say that the British rule is governed by self-interest, as suggested in the article of May 12, and that the article of the 9th June suggested in a veiled manner, that other

countries have got advantages by the use of bombs and foul murders, and that bombs could be very easily made in India.

The Judge in his summing up sufficiently disclosed his views. After the summing up by the Judge, the Jury returned a verdict that Tilak was guilty under all the three charges, the first two of sedition and the third of raising ill-feeling among the classes, by a majority of seven to two. The Judge asked Tilak:

"Do you wish to say anything more before I pass the sentence?"

We might pause here for a moment and try to visualise the scene of the Court room at that moment. It was night time. Thousands of anxious admirers were waiting outside to know the final verdict of the Court. It was a tense moment inside the Court. The curtain was about to fall on the last scene in this historic drama. Millions of his countrymen in the country were following Tilak's address day by day. During the course of the whole trial, Tilak was not at all worried about what happened to him personally. The whole mission of his life and the work that he had undertaken for the prosecution of his ideals, must have passed before his mind's eye. There was the man who, while he was free, had fought relentlessly against the autocratic bureaucracy with all means at his command for the liberty and the honour of his country. He had never known fear or trepidation in his life. He had counted no sacrifice too great for national freedom. During the last 30 years he had roused in our people a spirit of self-reliance and courage. He looked upon the trial not as something which concerned him personally, but the whole Nation.

He had exhorted the people to count as nothing any suffering that came in the performance of his duty. There he was, standing before a Judge who was about to pronounce sentence on him. For a moment, he forgot his own individuality. For a moment, the identification between him and his cause was complete. He spoke not as an individual, but as a voice of Destiny. He had always told his people that Providence was on their side. He knew that a long term of imprisonment and all that it means was staring him in the face. He was calm and unperturbed, and in a firm and dignified tone told the Judge:

"All I wish to say is, that inspite of the verdict of the Jury, I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher powers that rule the destiny of things and it may be the will of Providence, that the cause that I represent may prosper more by my suffering than by my remaining free."

Before pronouncing sentence the Judge allowed himself to say something which he might better have spared himself. He said, addressing Tilak:

"You are a man of undoubted talents and great power and influence. Those talents and that influence, if used for the good of your country, would have been instrumental in bringing about a great deal of happiness for those very people, whose cause you espouse...... It seems to me that it must be a diseased mind, a mere perverted mind, that could say, that the articles which you have written are legitimate weapons in political agitation. They are seething with sedition; they preach violence; they speak of murders with approval and the cowardly and atrocious acts of committing murders with bombs, not only seems to meet with your approval, but you hail the advent of bomb in India, as

if something has come to India for its good..... It would be a diseased mind, that could ever have thought, that the articles you wrote, were articles, that could have been legitimately written. Your hatred of the ruling class has not disappeared during these 10 years, and these articles deliberately and defiantly written week by week, not, as you say, on the spur of the moment, but a fortnight after that brutal and cowardly outrage had been committed upon two innocent English women. You write about bombs as if they were legitimate instruments in political agitations. Such journalism is a curse to the country."

He proceeded to say that he had decided to pass a sentence which he considered would be stigmatised as what is called 'misplaced leniency', in case he was found guilty.

"Having regard to your age and other circumstances I think it is most desirable in the interest of peace and order and in the interest of the country which you profess to love, that you should be out of it for some time," and he sentenced Tilak to six years' transportation and a fine of one thousand rupees.

The reaction of the trial on the country can be easily imagined. The *Bande Mataram* certainly expressed the feelings of his countrymen when it said:

"Go, Tilak, wherever you may be sent to crush your body. Your example will hover around us all unimprisoned and unexiled. The canker of the chains will not only eat into your limbs but also into every heart of the country to stir it up to its duty. Nearer the God, nearer the fire. He places his good soldiers in the very thick of the battle. You have fulfilled your mission, you have taught your people to bear tortures rather than deny their country, you have startled the deep slumber of false opinions, you have thrilled a pang of noble shame through callous consciences. And into the next age, if

not into your own, you have flashed an epidemic of nobleness. What else have patriots, heroes and martyrs done?"

The feelings of the people of Bombay, who were watching the trial, both in the Magistrate's Court and in the High Court with anxiety, were naturally more excited than at other places. There were disturbances —stone-throwing at the police and the like even from the 1st of July. The crowds had to be dispersed sometimes by firing. The Government of Bombay in a spirit of panic, requisitioned two squadrons of cavalry and half of Royal Scotch from Deolali in addition to the ordinary garrison in Bombay, which consisted of three companies of artillery, besides the various voluntary corps. The Home Secretary to the Government of India, thought it regrettable, to requisition such a large number of troops, "because of the trial of an agitator for sedition. Taking these measures gives most undesirable importance to Tilak and makes patent, to the people of Bombay, the serious nature of Government apprehension." There were clashes between the people and the authorities and recourse was had to firing to disperse the angry crowds. It was felt in the Government of India that the arrangements of disturbances had been singularly inept; the Commissioner of Police himself, on two occasions led the firing with his revolver and the cavalry were dismounted and ordered to load instead of letting them to drive people back with the weight of the horses. But the Bombay Government pursued its own way.

After the conviction, the Bombay bazaars observed *Hartal* continuously for days and for a whole week the

Bombay streets were full of hostile demonstrators and the police and the military who tried to disperse them fired rounds after rounds. It was as if the city was under military rule. It was principally the mill-hands that had taken part in the demonstrations, and in one day as many as 70 mills stopped work. The total number of casualties on the people's side was estimated to be 15 killed (7 outright) and forty-eight wounded and on Government side, 32 Europeans and 19 Indians wounded. The injuries on the Government side were not serious, being mainly contused wounds from stones, etc. It was felt in the Government of India that the tragedy of these disturbances was that Government was absolutely in the dark as to any hostile demonstrations and for this, the predominant Marathi element in the Bombay Police was blamed. The Director-General of Central Criminal Intelligence came personally to Bombay and found that the political effect of the action against Tilak was disappointing and he thought that the action of the Bombay Government was premature. He was not alone in thinking so. Morley, who was not consulted about the prosecution, wrote to the Bombay Governor, on July 3, that he did not count, among welcome things, the proceedings against Tilak. Referring to one of the articles for which Tilak was prosecuted, he said:

"I confess that at the first glance I feel, as if it might have been passed over, but you have the means of knowing *the actual effect produced or likely to be produced.*"

On July 31, he wrote a little more strongly:

"I won't go over the Tilak ground again beyond saying, that if you had done me the honour, to seek my advice, as well as that of your lawyers, I am clear that

I should have thought of leaving him alone, and I find no reason to believe that any mischief, that Tilak could have done, would have been so dangerous, as the mischief that will be done by his sentence. Of course, the milk is now spilt, and there is an end on it." The Governor of Bombay tried to explain the situation on which Morley wrote again on August 7, "Your vindication of the prosecution against Tilak does not shake me."[1] It should be added also that the action against Tilak was not welcome to Gokhale either. He thought that it would prove "to be an ugly discouragement to the Moderates."

1. Lord Sydenham: *My Working Life*, pp. 224-226.

Chapter XIV

THE PHILOSOPHER IN PRISON

Immediately after the sentence, Tilak was brought down and taken in a special train to Ahmedabad. He was kept in the Sabarmati Jail till the 13th September. There, he was treated as a convict, sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. He lost ten lbs. in 10 days. The Jail officials first thought that he was not taking any food, and when they discovered that their suspicion was groundless, wheat bread, rice, 2 lbs. of milk and 2 ounces of ghee began to be given to him as special diet, on medical advice. Later on, his sentence was changed from rigorous to simple imprisonment and the fine was remitted. On 13th September, he was removed from Sabarmati, along with another Gujerati Brahmin convict to serve as cook for him, and taken in great secrecy to Bombay. Some people, somehow, came to know of this, and he heard people shouting 'Tilak Maharaj ki Jai' at Miyagaon station. From Bombay he was taken in a big boat, belonging to the Military Transport, which reached Rangoon on the 9th day. While on board, he was locked up in the hold, meant for prisoners, and was taken on the deck, once a day, by a European Police officer. When he landed in Rangoon, a huge crowd greeted him, the news of his coming having already leaked out. The next day, he was taken to Mandalay where he was lodged in the Central Jail.

He was confined there, in a room on the first floor twelve feet by twenty, with a compound, 50 by 130 feet.

The convict cook stayed with him in the same building on the ground floor, and cooked for him. The room was locked all the 24 hours, as also the enclosure. The furniture in the room consisted of a table, a chair, a canvass easy chair, an iron cot, and two book-shelves. The same diet, as at Sabarmati, was continued with the addition of fruits. He was suffering from diabetes before he was imprisoned, and the ailment showed aggravation at Mandalay. He then commenced keeping himself on a strict diet of barley.

Tilak was permitted his usual apparel and his own bed. He was not given any newspapers or periodicals; but he was allowed to get books, of course, subject to strict scrutiny and censorship. In the first instance, only four books were allowed at a time, but, later on, this condition was relaxed. When he was released he had about four hundred books with him.

Immediately after conviction, the High Court was moved to grant him special leave for appeal, but the request was rejected. An application in revision, was, however, filed later before the Privy Council, but it was also rejected. Khaparde, who had gone to England for this purpose, stayed longer to see if anything could be done by way of petition to the King or an address to Parliament, but did not get any sympathy from friends of India like Wedderburn, who were more inclined toward the Moderate wing. Khaparde wrote to Tilak, that some friends desired to know whether Tilak would be prepared to accept any conditions for his release. Tilak's reply was typical. He wrote to Khaparde (29th May, 1909), that the efforts for his release could be three-fold: legal, equitable and humanitarian. If all these proved useless, they should not go beyond them.

The legal remedies by way of appeal had failed. There could be a ground for equitable relief, as he had not been tried by an Indian Jury, as he should have been.

"Trial by Jury selected out of one's own countrymen or peers, is an important constitutional right, specially in trials for offences against the State—as important as the right of *Habeas Corpus* and the Civil Rights Committee of Parliament was the proper body to take up a fight for the question." The third ground could be well sustained, as the sentence of 6 years was a savage sentence. An appeal for mercy could be, by those who thought the punishment to be too severe for a man of his age and position, social or literary and for the offence of merely publishing certain honest views."

Writing about the acceptance of any condition, he said, "If the conditions are the same as those offered to me in 1898, I would not hesitate to accept them. I do not care for demonstrations and such other honours; I would gladly forego them; *but once out of jail, I must have the same liberty of action as every citizen enjoys under the law of the land.* .... But I do not think the same conditions would be offered now. They will, if offered at all, be harsher now; and *I do not see how I can accept them.* I have now nearly completed one year of my punishment, and after four years more, I shall be, at any rate, hope to be, amongst you as a free citizen. Do you think I should surrender this chance, distant as it is, by voluntarily incapacitating me for any public or political work for ever? I am now already 53 years. If heredity and average of health be any indication of the longevity of a man, I do not hope to live, at best, for more than 10 years more. All these five, say, so available for unrestrained public work, which, if I accept any conditions

of the kind you mention, I shall have to live as a dead man, practically, amongst you, hereafter. To say the least, I do not like that kind of life. It is true that my activity is not confined to politics, and I can do some literary work, even if I be prohibited from taking part in politics. I considered this view fully, and I have come to the conclusion that it is inconsistent with all my antecedents. *In fact, I shall be undoing my life's work thereby.* You know that I have never lived exclusively for my family, or, for myself alone, but have always endeavoured to do my duty to the public. Now, judge what would be the moral effect of my effacing myself from public life, for the sake of a few year's of personal comfort? Of the family matters, the most important is the superintendence of the education of my sons: but I think I can leave that to friends like yourselves during my imprisonment. I lost my parents (both) at fifteen and my sons won't be worse, in this respect, than myself. From these remarks, you might think that I may accept a condition imposing restriction on my public activity for a short time, say, six months or a year, after my release. But I shall rather like to be in jail for that period than be out a disabled man. The sum-total of the above remarks is *that I would like to be a free citizen as soon as released.* Government have already secured power to keep me out of public work, for five years more, and, it will be *quid pro quo* and not mercy, if, by releasing me now, they secure my permanent abstention from public activity.

"Well, my dear Dadasahib, as a Theosophist, you have full faith in the occult ways of Providence, and you cannot refuse to believe with me, that several things may occur during the next five years, which may secure

my early release; *if not, I am prepared for the worst.* So, all that I should wish you to do is, to exhaust the three methods or the means for securing my release as stated in the opening part of this letter. If the release cannot be secured by any of these means, the matter must be dropped. *I do not wish for release AT ANY COST*, and would pray you, not to allow your friendly feeling for me to carry the matter further. It will take you only a month or more; and then you may return to India whatever the result of your work may be. One can but do his best, says a proverb; and when you have done your best you will have discharged your duty to a friend. *It is for you to work and for Providence to bless your work with success,* so says the *Gita;* and I cannot conclude this letter with a more opportune remark or advice. Several good men have suffered for the expression of their honest views in the past, and if it be destined that I should do the same who can prevent it?"

Tilak, naturally, thought about his family. He had always felt great concern about the health of his wife, who was also suffering from diabetes. He wrote (9th January, 1909) that he was rather worried about his wife's health. He felt no worry about himself, but much more about his wife and children. He conveyed an appeal to his wife (2nd April, 1910) to agree to go to Sinhgarh, with the children, for at least a few days in summer. She might not be wanting the pleasure of a colder climate, but he pleaded with her that she should go at least for his sake, as her health deteriorated in summer; he said that even if she went there unwillingly, to honour his wishes, it would be welcome to him. But she grew worse and worse and died in the first week of June 1912.

What were his feelings, when he received a telegram from his nephew, Vidwans, conveying the sad news, on

the 8th June? All his life he had fought relentlessly and he had met all adversities with courage; for a moment he felt that courage forsaking him. He had accepted her, as his companion in life, forty years ago. And what a companion! If he had only chosen, he could have given her, a life of comfort and material happiness. But, his duty led him to a hard life, and she had shared it with him with fortitude. She was a typical Hindu wife; she was the guardian angel of his home. She was not educated in the conventional sense, but she was the embodiment of real culture at its highest. No one ever heard her murmur at their adversities, had even heard her voice. Wherever work or duty may take him away, there she was looking after the family and his guests, of whom, there were always a number, and now, when she departed, there was no *home* to which he could return. A Sanskrit poet has said, that a great man is harder than the thunderbolt, but softer than a flower. So was Tilak. He was never dismayed by any suffering that performance of duty brought him; but he was, for a moment may be, when he learnt of the death of one, who was to him, an unfailing source of strength in his life of trouble and turmoil. The worst of it all, was, that Destiny had ordained that she should not have the solace of having him by her side in her last moment. With an unconcealed heaviness of heart and yet with a deliberate restraint, Tilak wrote back to his nephew as follows, the same day:

"Your wire was a very great and a heavy blow. I am used to take my misfortune calmly; but, I confess, the present shook me considerably. According to the beliefs, ingrained in us, it is not undesirable that the

wife should die before her husband. What grieved me most, is my enforced absence from her side, at this critical time. But this was to be, I always feared it, and it has at last happened. But I am not going to trouble you further with my sad thoughts. One chapter of my life is closed and I am afraid it won't be long before another will be."

"Let her last rites be duly performed, and her remains sent to Allahabad, or Benaras, or any other place, she might have desired. Carry out, literally, all her last wishes, if you have not done so already. The task of looking after the physical and intellectual development of my sons falls on you now with greater responsibility; and I shall be still further grieved, if I were to find it not properly attended to. I believe Mathu and Durgi[1] are still there. They as well as Rambhau, must have keenly felt the bereavement, especially, at a time, when I am away. Console them in my name, and see that Rambhau and Bapu[2] do not get dejected. Let them remember, that I was left an orphan, when I was much younger than either of them. Misfortunes should brace us up for greater self-dependence. Both Rambhau and Bapu should therefore take a lesson from this bereavement, and, if they do that, I am sure God will not forsake them. See that their time is not lost in useless grief. The inevitable must be faced boldly."

"As regards her things and valuables, make a list thereof, and keep them with you under lock and key, till my release, or, till you next hear to the contrary from me, in the meanwhile. Above all, face the situation courageously yourself, for there is no one else, on whom the children can depend in this critical state. May God help you all, is all that I can wish and pray for, from this distant place."

1. His daughters.
2. His sons.

Tilak had naturally not expected much success in the efforts that were being made to have him released. He himself applied to the Bombay Government, inviting their attention particularly to the fact, that the change from rigorous imprisonment to simple imprisonment had deprived him of the normal period of remission, and therefore, that the unexpired portion of his sentence might be remitted. This was in 1912, but the Bombay Government had rejected his submission. He then appealed to the King and in a Despatch to the Secretary of State, (3-10-1912) the Bombay Government referred to the fact, that the petition disclosed neither penitence nor promise of future good behaviour, and they would, most earnestly, deprecate his release. Tilak had also mentioned, in the memorial, that he was now 56 years old and suffering, for a long time, from chronic diabetes, and that family affairs had been brought to a sad crisis by heavy bereavement. Referring to the ground of health, the Bombay Government forwarded a report of the Medical Officer of the Jail. That officer had stated in his report (8th May, 1912), that Tilak's original weight was somewhere near 125 lbs. and that his average weight during the four years of his imprisonment was almost about the same, varying between 119 and 125 lbs. and that apart from weighment, his general health was as good as could be expected.

"He has always been cheerful and active even at his present age, and, with diabetes, I have often seen him running up and down stairs in his quarters. He pursues his usual occupation, of reading and writing, and he is hardly ever ill."

He did not consider that Tilak was showing a sign of break-down. It had at the same time to be borne in

mind, he said, that a diabetic collapses suddenly at any time. The danger, however, was no greater now than it was on the first day, that Tilak was admitted into the jail. After considering these reports, the Secretary of State turned down Tilak's memorial. And now it appeared dead certain that Tilak had to undergo imprisonment for the whole period of six years.

It was natural that Tilak felt anxious about the proper education and studies of his children especially after their mother's death. He asked for their progress books and had arrangements made for their instruction. He even went to the length of communicating his advice, regarding the precise manner, in which they should prepare themselves for the examination. He suggested that his daughter, Mathu Tai, should be educated till the Matric, but at the same time, he was particular that she should be well up in all household duties and work. He heard about the deaths of some of his old acquaintances and friends and noted, how, one by one, they were departing, and wondered how many of them might remain up to the time of his release. He could have interviews once in three months with his relatives and friends and always looked forward to them with pleasure; but when the interviews were over and the visitors had departed, he felt, as he wrote once about Khaparde's visit, that they were like pleasant dreams in the midst of his jail surroundings.

Six years are a fairly long span in a man's life, and, Tilak, within a short time after reaching Mandalay, made a plan for a comprehensive treatise on the *Gita*, embodying a complete survey of Hindu philosophy and religion. In February 1910, he wrote asking for a blank note

book of 300 to 400 pages. He had requisitioned about 300 to 400 books on various subjects connected with his thesis. He wrote the treatise in about 4 months' time during the winter of 1910-11. After the first draft was complete, he wrote that he had named it the *Gita Rahasya,* that it contained independent and new ideas appearing before the public for the first time, that he had shown in his work, how our philosophy could be used for a solution of ethical problems. He did not accept the principle of "the greatest good of the greatest number" or of Intuition as the basis of ethics. He had tried to show, he said, by a comparative study, that our philosophy was no less progressive than the Western.

Side by side with the philosophic studies, he also acquired a knowledge of the French, German and Pali languages. In one of his letters (19-2-1910) he expressed the joy, that he felt, when he was able to read one of Webers' books in German. In a note found in his papers was a syllabus for future work. He noted the names of ten books projected or suggested.[3]

3. (1) History of Hindu Religion—Vedic, Shrauta, Upanishads, Epic, Puranas, Darshanas, Bhakti, Pre-historic, other religions. conclusion. (2) Indian Nationalism (the story of or the aspects of phases of). (3) Pre-epic History of India. (4) The Shankara Darshana (Indian Monism). (5) Provincial Administration. (6) Hindu Law. (7) Principles of Infinitesimal Calculus. (8) Bhagwad-Gita-Rahasya-Ethics. (9) Life of Shivaji. (10) Chaldea and India.

It appears also that he had planned a treatise on the political history of India and had indicated the following as the chapter headings :

(1) Introductory. (2) Vernacracy, Caturvarnya. (3) Hindu State Empire. (4) Buddhism, Shakas and Renovessance. (5) Muhammedan Conquest and Empire. (6) Break up—Marathas, Sikhs,

While outside, peoples of all kinds used to approach him for legal advice and he even used to draft petitions for them. He received one such request even at Mandalay. It was from a shepherd from a Maharashtra village, Kalkamb; he had asked for a draft for an appeal to be filed in the High Court. Tilak considered the subject matter of the case and he conveyed his impression that adequate opportunity was not given by the Lower Court, for producing adequate evidence and, that the appelant's purpose can only be served by getting an order for remand of the suit, to the Trial Court, for recording further evidence. "Poor man!" he said, "the appeal period also appears to be over." Tilak particularly suggested that the party should be advised to approach Khaparde and that he should be written to, in a manner, that he would understand properly.

On the 2nd May 1914, Tilak asked for an amount of Rs. 50, possibly in anticipation of his release. On the 8th June of that year, he was taken from Mandalay to Rangoon and from there to Madras in a boat. From Madras he was taken in a closed bogey to Poona and at dead of night, on June 16th he was released at the door of his residence. The matter of his release was kept a close secret, by the Bombay Government, not only from the public but also from the Government of India. No wonder, therefore, that the watchman at his residence refused to open the doors until his nephew came down and found that it was Tilak that was knocking at the door.

etc. (7) British Conquest. (8) Government by the Crown, (Constitution). (9) Consolidation. (10) Bureaucracy, its ideals (comparison of Spanish, Austrian, and Russian Bureaucracies). (11) Progress (two opposite views). (12) Reconciliation.

CHAPTER XV

TILAK *vs.* CHIROL[1]

During Tilak's incarceration at Mandalay, Valentine Chirol, the then Director of the Foreign and Imperial Department of the *London Times*, contributed a series of articles on the political situation in India, and later on, (1910) published them under the title, *Indian Unrest.* The circumstances, under which he came to write the series of articles, were thus narrated by him:

"Early in 1901, when I was still Director of the Foreign and Imperial Department of the *Times*, I proceeded to India to study the growth of the various forms of political agitation, which had led to many serious cases of sedition and outrages. Whilst recognising the expediency of important constitutional reforms in India, His Majesty's Government had found it necessary to sanction measures for strengthening the hands of the Indian Executive, which, some of their own supporters, and the advanced politicians in India, denounced as repressive and reactionary and deplorably inconsistent with all liberal principles. My object, therefore, in the first place was to inform myself, as fully as possible, as to the origin and history of these new political and social movements in India, and whilst I sought and obtained such valuable information from unofficial sources both Indian and European, I naturally applied also to the Government of India and to Local Governments to assist my enquiry. They realised the value of securing a well-informed and

1. I have derived useful information from Confidential Proceedings (Home) of the Government of India for January 1917 (Nos. 175-186) and for November 1917 (Nos. 21-25) in the custody of the National Archives at New Delhi in writing this chapter.

reasoned presentation of the situation to the British public, and I was favourably known or commended to most of them; they were good enough to place me in possession of a great deal of trust-worthy information in the shape of official reports and records, abstracts and summaries from the Vernacular press, which I was allowed to use with discretion. These facilities were afforded me in a greater degree, perhaps, in Bombay, than anywhere else,[2] because the seditious agitation in the Deccan had centred, largely, in the person of Tilak, who had been finally prosecuted by Government in 1908 and condemned to six years transportation by the High Court of Bombay, after a long and careful trial. I studied the whole of his political activities during his long public career and came to the conclusion, that it was largely to his methods and doctrine that were due, not only the most dangerous forms of seditious unrest, but the adoption of outrage and murder as weapons of political agitation."

It was, according to him, "the first attempt to place before the English readers, a fairly comprehensive study of the many influences, both good and evil, which had introduced so deep and widespread a ferment into the political and social life of India." He was encouraged from many quarters, both in Britain and in India to publish them in a more permanent and extended book-form. Lord Morley, who was then Secretary of State for India, did him the honour of allowing him to dedicate the volume to him and Sir Alfred Lyall that of writing an introduction for it. "I have reason to believe," he said, "that in recommending me two years later, on my retirement from the *Times*, for the honour of Knighthood, Lord Morley had chiefly in mind the public service which

2. The Bombay Government not only placed all the confidential records at his disposal, but the Home Secretary went to the length of correcting the proofs.

many of those responsible for Indian affairs held me to have rendered in writing this book on *Indian Unrest*."

This shows the background of Chirol's book, which was obviously based largely on official sources. The book purported to be an analysis of the political movements of the times, but its principal object appears to have been to support the Government in the policy of repression, which it had adopted to suppress the national movement. In the early chapters (1 to 8), he dealt with the rise of the national movement, particularly in the Deccan, Bengal, and the Punjab. He began by propounding, on the strength of copious extracts from Bepin Chandra Pal, to show, that the real object of the movement was to secure complete independence for the country, by elimination of the British Rule in India, and, on the strength of extracts from the revolutionary press, that the means to be adopted included final resort to violence. He further proceeded to show that the national movement was the outcome of a Hindu rivival, in which the Brahmins took a prominent part, with the ultimate object of re-establishing Brahmin supremacy. In regard to the Deccan, he traced Tilak's public career as being one devoted to the propagation of the establishment of Hindu superiority. He attributed the political unrest in the Deccan principally to Tilak's activities, pursued with the object of supplanting the British Raj, with a view to re-establishment of Brahmin supremacy, and instanced Tilak's participation in the incidents connected with the Hindu-Muslim tension, the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals, the famine and the plague and the Swadeshi movement, as being part of Tilak's propaganda of an anti-British character. He suggested that Tilak's methods included violence and

in support of this thesis, quoted Justice Davar's concluding observations at the time of the 1908 trial. He also cited the statement of Kanhere, who, was convicted for the murder of Jackson during his trial before the Court. He commended the firm repressive action of Government and he concluded thus:—

"It was by the prosecution of Tilak, that the forces of militant unrest lost their ablest and boldest leader,—perhaps the only one who might have concentrated their direction, not only in the Deccan, but in the whole of India, in his own hands and given to the movement, with all its varied and often conflicting tendencies, an organization and unity which it still happily seems to lack."

Regarding the Nationalist movement in Bengal, he ascribed it to "the revolutionary school, who, combined with a spirit of revolt against the Western authority, a reversion to some of the most reactionary conceptions of authority that the East has ever produced, and unfortunately, it is this new school which has now got hold of the younger educated classes." He indicated Bepin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose as the leaders of this new school, which "scarcely disguised its hostility to British Rule itself and to all that British ascendency stands for. Hinduism for the Hindus, or, as they preferred to put it, Arya for the Aryans, was the war-cry of zealots, half-fanatics, half-patriots, whose mysticism found in the sacred story of the *Bhagvad Gita,* not only the charter of Indian independence, but the sanctification of the most violent means for the overthrow of an alien rule."

"The Swadeshi movement and the Boycott", he said, "soon imported methods of violence and lawlessness which had hitherto been considered foreign to the Bengali

temperament" and tried to show how the revolutionary movement, with violence as its means, grew out of this school of thought. In the Punjab he traced the advent of extremist activities to the Arya Samaj whose creed was "Back to the Vedas." He observed that "'one of the most mischievous results of the Aryan propaganda, and one which may well cause the most immediate anxiety, is the growing antagonism which it has bred between Hindus and Muhammedans." Regarding the attitude of the latter, he referred to their dread of Hindu ascendency and urged the necessity of holding the balance between the two communities. He was also of opinion that Hinduism was predominent in the Indian National Congress and the Moderates had generally failed in the lead that they ought to have given to the country. About Morley-Minto Reforms, he said "the precise results had yet to be awaited." Referring to the Depressed classes, he favoured steps for popularising Christianity amongst them. He also urged that the Native States, which had, by and large, stood loyally by Government, should be given a little higher status than what they had. He found fault with the system of education that was prevalent. mourned the loss of European control in the educational institutions, and proposed measures of educational reforms, which included a large number of technical institutions and introduction of an element of religious education. He thought that the Government of India should have larger Fiscal autonomy and that attempts should be made to improve the position of Indians in the Indian Empire. He indicated frictions between the Indian and European communities as one of the disturbing influences. He observed that serious attempts should be made to minimise those frictions,

but that some of them were inevitable under the circumstances. To sum up, the sources of some of the chief currents and cross-currents of the great confused movement which was stirring the stagnant waters of Indian life were; "the steady impact of alien ideas on an ancient and obsolescent civilization; the more or less imperfect assimilation of those ideas by the few; the dread and resentment of them by those whose traditional ascendency they threaten; the disintegration of old beliefs, and then their aggressive revival; the careless diffusion of an artificial system of education, based none too firmly on mere intellectualism, and bereft of all moral or religious sanction; the application of Western theories of administration and of jurisprudence to a social formation stratified on lines of singular rigidity; .... the exaltation of an Oriental people in the Far East; the abasement of Asiatics in South Africa—all these and many other conflicting influences culminating in the inchoate revolt of a small but very active minority, which, on the one hand, frequently disguises under an appeal to the example and sympathy of Western democracy a reversion of the old tyranny of caste and to the worst superstitions of Hinduism, and, on the other hand, arms, with the murderous methods compounded in varying proportions of philosophic transcendentalism and degenerate sensuousness."

He said "the principal problem before the Government was to break the temporary and unnatural alliance between the Hindu revivalism and an idealism generated by Western education." He supported the surgical treatment in respect of the extremists and the diversion of the activities of the new Western-educated

classes into economic channels and to a greater encouragement of the interests of those classes which had held aloof from politics. He wholly opposed the idea of introduction of self-government into India. They must continue, he concluded, to govern India as the greatest dependency of the British Crown; but attempts should be made to satisfy Indians that they were governing them impartially and with genuine considerations of their peculiar interests and ideas.

In dealing with Tilak's career, Chirol relied principally upon official sources, and more especially on a report submitted by the Inspector-General of Police, Bombay, in 1899, proposing measures, including a Press Act, for dealing with the situation, and a history sheet of Tilak's career prepared by the C. I. D. In fact, it was found that he had closely followed the former document, reproducing part of it verbatim in his book. It should not, therefore, be surprising that there was no objectivity of treatment, especially so far as Chirol's treatment of Tilak's activities were concerned. He allowed himself to make statements which were closely in line with the police reports. Writing about Tilak's participation in the controversy about the Age of Consent Bill in 1890, Chirol observed,

"With the help of the brothers (Natu), who were recognised leaders of Hindu orthodoxy, he carried his propaganda into the schools and colleges, in the teeth of the Moderate party and proclaiming, that unless they learnt to employ force, the Hindus must expect to be impotent witnesses of the gradual downfall of all their ancient institutions, he proceeded to organised gymnastic societies in which physical training and the use of primitive weapons were taught in order to develop the martial instincts of the rising generation."

Speaking about Tilak's activities in 1893 during the period of Hindu-Muslim tension, Chirol wrote:

"In 1893, some riots in Bombay, of a more severe character than usual, gave Tilak an opportunity of broadening the new movement, by enlisting in its support the old anti-Mahommedan feeling of the people. He started an organisation known as the Anti-Cow-Killing Society which was intended and regarded as a direct provocation to the Mahommedans, who, like ourselves, had no sacrilege to eat beef. In vain did liberal Hindus appeal to him to resist from these inflammatory methods."

He also referred to the judgment of the Bombay High Court invalidating the adoption of Jagannath Maharaj, 'because it was brought about by means of undue influence exercised over Tai Maharaj both by Tilak and Khaparde.' Chirol further observed that, 'Mr. Justice Chandavarkar is a Hindu judge of the highest reputation and the effect of this judgment is extremely damaging to Tilak's private reputation as a man of honour or even of common honesty.' It might be observed at this stage that the judgment of the High Court was reversed on appeal and the Privy Council held the adoption to be legal and valid. Writing about the murder of Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst, he said:

"What Tilak could do by secret agitation and by a rabid campaigning in the Press to raise popular resentment to a white-heat he did. . . The inevitable consequence ensued. On June 22, 1897, on their way back from an official reception in celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, Mr. Rand, an Indian Civilian who was President of Poona Plague Committee, and Lieutenant Ayerst of the Commissariat Department were shot down by Damodar Chapekar, a young Chitpavan

Brahman on the Ganeshkhind Road. No direct connection has been established between that crime and Tilak."

Speaking about Tilak's position in 1908, Chirol wrote:

"He must have had a considerable command of funds for the purposes of his propaganda and though he doubtless had not a few willing and generous supporters, many subscribed from the fear of lash, which he knew how to apply through the Press to the tepid and recalcitrant, just as his gymnastic societies. sometimes resorted themselves into juvenile bands of dacoits to swell the coffers of Swaraj."

Alluding to the statement of Kanhere, who was sentenced to death for killing Jackson, the Collector of Nasik, Chirol wrote:

"In reply to the Magistrate who asked him why he committed the murder", Kanhere said, 'I read of many instances of oppression in the *Kesari*, the *Rashtramat* and the *Kal* and other newspapers. I think that by killing *Sahibs*, we people can get justice. I never got injustice myself nor did anyone I know. I now regret killing Mr. Jackson. I killed a good man causelessly'. Can anything be more eloquent and convincing than the terrible pathos of this confession? The three papers named by Kanhere were Tilak's organs. It was no personal experience or knowledge of his own that had driven Kanhere to this frenzied deed, but the slow persistent poison dropped into his ear by the Tilak Press. Though it was Kanhere's hand that struck down a good man causelessly, was not Tilak rather than Kanhere the real author of the murder? It was merely the story of the Poona murders of 1897 over again.

In concluding his review of Tilak's career, Chirol appreciated the action of the Bombay Government in prosecuting Tilak and he instanced the Nasik murder

as having arisen as a consequence of his doctrines. Finally he observed,

"The firmer attitude adopted by the Government of India and such repressive measures as the Press Act combined with judicious reforms have done much; but it was by the prosecution of Tilak that the forces of militant unrest lost their ablest and boldest leader—perhaps the only one who might have concentrated their direction, not only in the Deccan but in the whole of India, in his own hands and given to the movement, with all its varied and often conflicting tendencies, an organisation and unity which it still happily seems to lack."

A copy of Chirol's book was placed in Tilak's hands on the second day after his arrival in Poona from Mandalay. He immediately made up his mind to take action against Chirol in a court of law in vindication of his honour, but took some time on the actual steps to be taken. On the 1st October 1915, he got a notice served through his Solicitors on Chirol and the publishers, Macmillan & Company. He mentioned the allegations as abstracted in the previous paragraph, and asked for an unqualified apology and on a contribution, as might be agreed between the parties, to the Indian War Relief Fund. Not receiving a satisfactory reply, Tilak lodged a suit before the King's Bench in London, on the 27th October 1915. He got Summons served through his Solicitors on the 27th October 1915, and a formal complaint was lodged on the 14th November. As soon as Chirol received the notice, he hurried to India for preparation of his defence. He approached the Government of Bombay for official documents connected with the passages complained of, and, in response to his request, the Judicial Department Secretary, on his own

responsibility, sent to Chirol all relevant official and confidential records in the possession of Government. As Chirol had based his observations on Tilak, mainly on the report of the Inspector-General of Police to Government forwarded in 1899 and the life history of Tilak prepared by the C.I.D., he asked for permission to make official use of those documents. He also requested for being supplied with the Weekly Reports on the Indian Press and to be given assistance in respect of possible witnesses on his behalf. There was no difficulty about the reports on the Indian Press. but the other matters required consideration. In view of Chirol's representation that facilities were afforded to him by Lord Sydenham and Sir W. Lebourne, Secretary to Bombay Government, the Government of Bombay asked for advice from the Government of India. In his letter (19th February, 1916) the Secretary, Judicial Department, Bombay, said,

"It is clear that a verdict for Tilak would enable him to go about the country and say, that he never stirred up animosity between the Hindus and Muhammedans and so on, and to pose all-round as a martyr. It would have, undoubtedly, the effect of increasing his prestige in certain political circles in England. This is considered to be a most undesirable result, and perhaps we should do all that we possibly can to assist Sir Valentine Chirol in his defence."

The letter also dealt with the circumstances in which the Inspector-General of Police's report asked for, was submitted to Government.

"The Report of the Inspector-General of Police referred to, was submitted to the Government of India in the Home Department with this Government's letter dated the 25th August 1899. The origin of the Report of the

I.G.P. was this. On the 28th March 1899, the District Superintendent of Police, Poona, made certain proposals for dealing with the situation in the Deccan, as it then presented itself. He proposed action regarding the improper and disloyal writings in the vernacular Press, reorganisation of the Poona Police Force and the necessity for dealing further with the most dangerous remnants of the Poona Murders Clique and the Chapekar Club. He had the support of the District Magistrate and the Commissioner, Central Division. The papers were sent to the I.G.P. for remarks and the report in question is what is submitted to Government. It will be seen that practically the whole of Sir Valentine's chapter on Tilak is based on his report, and in some places passages have been taken almost verbatim. The report was submitted to the Government of India with this Government's letter No. 5991, dated the 25th August, 1899 and definite recommendations were made for the introduction of a Press Act."

It will be interesting to note the reactions of the various officers at the highest level in the Government of India regarding the position that Government should take in respect of the Chirol Case.

The Home Secretary observed (28-2-1916) "From the papers it seems undoubted, that rightly or wrongly, Sir V. Chirol did write his book with semi-official cognisance and help. Secondly, if Tilak is able to pose in the Courts as white-washed by the verdicts of a Jury, the political consequences would be extremely bad. We believe him to be an extreme political danger, and it is not to our interest that he should be judged to be an injured innocent. We are, therefore, interested in the results of the case."

The Home Member agreed with these observations and said (28-2-1916):

"I regard it of great public importance that Tilak should not secure a verdict against Sir V. Chirol. We

know that Tilak was all that Sir V. Chirol described him to be in his book, an out-and-out enemy of the Government, whose speeches and writings had the effect of exciting to violence and a triumph of Tilak against Sir V. Chirol is not merely a triumph of one individual over another, in which Government is concerned, but a triumph over Government of an enemy against Government...... I see no reason why Government should be in the least ashamed if it came out in Court that they had assisted Sir V. Chirol by information."

The Governor-General, however, advised caution. He said, "I think we have got to be very careful. Are we not committing ourselves further than we can see at present? .... This is going to be a troublesome business and I am in all in favour of caution." He said he would like to hear further views and suggested their consulting the Secretary of State in the matter. On this, both the Home Member and the Law Member gave their considered opinion thus:—

"Sir V. Chirol is now the defendant in a libel action, which, if successful, will not only mulcted him in damages for the public service that he rendered, but will also have the effect of rehabilitating the political character of Tilak, a result which would be a very serious political evil. We have, therefore, to consider not only that we are bound in honour not to leave Sir V. Chirol in the lurch, but also that serious political disadvantages might result if Tilak won his action. These two considerations are both entitled to weight; but there is a third, which is even stronger.

"It is inevitable that the trial will disclose that Sir V. Chirol obtained the information on which his book is based from Government sources, and consequently a successful suit by Tilak against Sir V. Chirol might quite possibly be a prelude to a further suit against Government, charging them with publication of libellous matter.

Reports made by the Criminal Investigation Department, etc., to the Government would no doubt ordinarily be privileged, but the privilege would be forfeited by their disclosure, to a third party, with the knowledge that he intended to publish its contents, which, under the circumstances, we could hardly deny.

"The success of Sir V. Chirol is, therefore, the first line of defence against a danger which is by no means remote; the failure of Sir V. Chirol would seriously prejudice the Government in defending itself in any subsequent proceedings against the Secretary of State. So that, if we put aside, as of secondary consideration, any obligation to help Sir V. Chirol, and any direct political advantages to be gained by Tilak's defeat, we have the much greater justification that in assisting Sir V. Chirol we are protecting the public interests themselves against an attack, which, if successful, would be disastrous, and even if it failed, would stir up great political trouble. Sir V. Chirol's success is a barrier of the utmost importance to us against a stirring situation arising at all."

They further supported the idea of placing an Officer on Special Duty to collect and sift the available information, and "in collecting information which may help Sir V. Chirol we are collecting information which we require for ourselves" (20-3-1916).

The Secretary of State, who was consulted about this matter, approved of full assistance being given to Sir V. Chirol, within such limits, as the Government of India, in their discretion, considered proper and safe. That letter also mentions, "that it may be assumed, that at the time, Sir V. Chirol was considered to have performed a valuable public service, and that Mr. Chamberlain (the Secretary of State) has no hesitation in associating himself with such an estimate." In their final decision about the particular documents, whose inspection by Chirol were under considera-

tion, the Government gave it as their opinion that "the fact that Government records were originally shown to Sir V. Chirol need not be a bar to a plea of privilege". But, that, on the other hand, if any papers are shown afresh to Sir V. Chirol, it would be very difficult to claim privilege in respect of them, if their production is now asked for." They suggested, however, "that there may possibly be no objection to furnishing Sir V. Chirol with the actual facts disclosed by this or any other papers in the possession of Government, regarding acts, speeches and writings etc., of Tilak, which are capable of proof."

It was also decided that necessary assistance may be given in the matter of finding out which witnesses would be helpful on what point. They further proceeded to observe,

"That there is probably more in the civil action, which has been instituted, than a mere private dispute. Its political aspect cannot be ignored and it is not to the interest of Government, that Tilak, by a misleading presentation of the facts, should be able to obtain a verdict which he can parade as a vindication of his character.......... As there is, at least, a risk that Tilak, emboldened by a successful issue of his present suit, might seek further action against Government, it is to the interest of the latter to ascertain precisely where they stand."

The Governor-General himself had apprehended, at an earlier stage, that Government had almost assumed the role of a defendant in the case. The Government of India also thought it reasonable to share the financial responsibility of defending the case, but that was deferred till its conclusion. This was, in a sense, a gratuitous decision, as at no stage, had Chirol requested any financial aid whatever.

During the course of this consideration, a suggestion had been made by the Bombay Government about asking a Special Officer to undertake a thorough enquiry with a view to ascertain the facts and evidence that may be helpful in the successful defence of the case. Mr. A. Montgomery, who had originally dealt with the Nasik Conspiracy Case at the committal stage as a Magistrate, and who now held the post of an Assistant Judge, was directed to make such an enquiry regarding the relevant facts and evidence.

Montgomery, as directed, made a thorough study of all the evidence sent to him, and be it said to his credit, submitted an absolutely objective report regarding his findings. Taking the matters and the investigation seriatim, he first dealt with the allegation regarding Tilak's starting an Anti-Cow Killing Society. He recorded his conclusion that "the words as they stand cannot be literally justified. Tilak had nothing to do with the inception of an Anti-Cow Killing movement nor is there any evidence to show that either before or after the Hindu-Muhammedan riots of 1893 he took any part in the management of the Anti-Cow Killing Society or in furthering its aims". "The true defence", he added, "to this part of an action lies in making a frank admission, that, so far as the insistence is laid on the active participation of Tilak in Anti-Cow Killing propaganda, the defendant has made a mistake. But the gist of the charge made is, not that Tilak adopted a particular method, but, that he aimed at a particular result". That was the promotion of the Anti-Muhammedan spirit, which could be made clear, by putting in evidence, all his views about the music question and the Ganapati and the

Shivaji movements. But the evidence on these three matters, he said, will only be admissible if the court took a broad view of the nature of the allegations made. Regarding the allegation about Tilak's carrying his propaganda into the schools and colleges in the teeth of the Moderate party etc., and about his gymnastic societies sometimes resorting themselves into juvenile bands of dacoits to swell the coffers of Swaraj, he said, that after the most painstaking search, he had been unable to obtain any evidence, with regard to the connection of Tilak with gymnastic societies. After discussing Chirol's sources for his remarks on this point, he said, that the libel about Tilak having organised the Chapekar club, where the use of primitive weapons was started, there is no possibility of justifying. Regarding Tilak's connection with the Nasik organisation, he was of the opinion that possible witnesses could not be relied upon. Regarding the allegations about funds obtained by coercion, he observed that the words amounted to a charge of the use of improper influence to compel subscriptions to funds to be expended in the propagation of disloyalty. Taken in this sense they are almost certainly libellous, and the defendant must be prepared to justify. I do not know how he is to do or what grounds he has for making the statement. Tilak certainly had funds at his disposal, but so far as I know, they were derived from his two valuable properties, the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, the former of which has a very large circulation". Regarding the defence points, he observed that "so far as can be gathered, the amounts which did actually reach the managers of the funds were utilised for the purpose for which the funds were raised". Regarding the donations received for the Vidya Prasharak Mandali with which Tilak was connected, he

said, he was unable to discover in the *Kesari* or the *Mahratta* any systematic appeals for funds or any attacks on peoples for not subscribing.

Proceeding to deal with the innuendo "that there existed an indirect connection between the plaintiff and the said murders and that he was guilty of them" he noted the fact that the "most definite part of the passage, that purporting to give an account of Chapekar's own statement, is certainly wrong" as there was no reference to Tilak's papers either in the confession or in his autobiography composed in jail, to Tilak's papers. It was impossible to prove that Tilak did engage himself in a secret agitation or that Chapekar was inspired in his murderous deeds by those teachings. In fact, the newspaper *Globe* had to apologise and pay damages to Tilak for publishing some remarks suggesting connection between Tilak and the murders. Regarding Tilak's writings in the *Kesari*, he said, "Mr. Rand was harshly criticized as unsympathetic and high-handed, but there is nothing that could be called vulgar personal abuse, nothing, in fact, that could be regarded as an incitement to murder .... Mr. Rand, who was then Chairman of the Plague Committee, in a letter of 21st July, 1897, remarks on the comparative moderation of Tilak's own papers .... In strict fairness it cannot be argued that these articles incited Chapekar to murder Mr. Rand. They had been plotting and planning and seeking out opportunities to murder Rand long before the articles were published. The plaintiff will probably be shrewd enough to raise this point and will also no doubt point out the moderation of his own papers, in comparison with others like the *Sudharak* and the *Dnyanprakash*, which were the two organs of his bitter political

opponents. He will ask why he should be held responsible for results, which, with greater logical cogency, might be traced to other sources. Regarding the innuendo of Kanhere being induced to commit a murder by matter contained in the *Kesari*, the *Rastramat* and the *Kal*, he said that "the class of articles, to which Kanhere was as a matter of fact referring, was that, which was, at one time, so common in some sections of the native press, articles recounting brutal assaults by Europeans on Natives, pointing out the inadequacy of the punishments given. Unfortunately, for the present purpose, the *Kesari* has on the whole been creditably free from such scurrilous matters". Regarding the advisability of publishing any reports of some cases which have appeared in the papers, he said, "It is however a question of tactics, to what extent such matters should be used. If the reports of the cases are correct, some of the instances are scandalous enough to make a British Jury wonder why there were not more murders". He mentioned, however, that articles in the *Kesari* referring to the methods of Russian revolutionaries and the cult of Bomb in Bengal, may well be used as hinting sometimes in pretty plain terms at the value of political assassinations.

After having discussed the various grounds of complaint as disclosed in Tilak's claim, he summed up as follows:

"I have discussed the prospects of the case throughout on the view, that the plaintiff will take the strongest line, it is possible for him to take. If some latitude is allowed by the court in the admission of evidence, there is a fair prospect of success on the most important parts of the libel. If, however, the Court holds the defendant to

strict proof of the allegations complained of (and this is the more probable course of events) the verdict is likely to be for the plaintiff, and the amount of damages will depend on the extent to which he can be discredited in cross-examination by eliciting admission of his anti-British sympathies and by drawing attention to the fact, that he has never raised his voice honestly and openly against the outrages of anarchists." Montgomery enclosed with his report various extracts from the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, which might be helpful in damaging Tilak's reputation by showing to the Court the anti-British character of his writings. Naturally Montgomery's report was received with a sense of depression at the headquarters of the Government of India. The Home Secretary observed that the report was not very re-assuring as to the chances of the defendant's case. The Home Member noted that Mr. Montgomery's report was decidedly pessimistic. "If we incorrectly say that a man instigated something", he added, "but can prove that he abetted or encouraged it, the libel is surely technical".

As mentioned above, Tilak lodged his claim on 14th November, 1915. The written statement of the defendant was filed on the 3rd March of 1916. There were interrogatories on both sides and evidence was recorded in India on Commission before the Bombay High Court. 43 witnesses were examined on behalf of the defendant and 18 on behalf of the plaintiff. The documents, got exhibited by the defendant and plaintiff respectively, were 43 and 39. Before the Commission began its work, Tilak had asked for inspection of certain documents in the possession of the Government, but permission was refused on the ground that they were confidential. He further asked the Bombay Government to produce them under seal before the Court. But this was also resisted. It should be noted in this connection that all the available material which was requir-

ed by him had been already shown to Chirol, excepting two which he was not formally permitted to see. After the Commission recorded the evidence, the suit came up for hearing before Justice Darling and a special Jury on the 29th January, 1919. The case was heard on 11 working days and judgment was delivered dismissing the claim on the 21st February, 1919.

Opening his case on behalf of Tilak, Sir John Simon dealt with the various items in Chirol's book complained of. Regarding the passage about the Anti-cow Killing Society, he said that Mr. Tilak's contention was, first of all, he did not start the Cow Protection Society; secondly, that any interest that he had in that subject had nothing to do with provoking the Muhammedans; and thirdly, to say the Society which he started and provoked Muhammedans had anything to do with the Bombay riots, "is simply to cast on him a blame and reflection which he does not in the least deserve." He also referred to the Bombay Government's resolution in which it was said that the Governor-in-Council hesitates to adopt the opinion, that the Cow Protection movement was the cause of the riots. With regard to the second count, he urged that there was no evidence to support it.

Regarding the Blackmail libel, he sumbitted that that was a libel which could not be justified and was not made out. Concerning the Tai Maharaj case, he said that the question which was decided by Mr. Justice Chandavarkar on September 1910 was merely this, that Tilak had put pressure on this widow to adopt Jagannath; "that there is nothing contrary to the honour and good faith of Mr. Tilak in

saying that he did put pressure on the widow to adopt him," Coming to the most important part of the case, viz., Rand and Ayerst libels, "which both accused Mr. Tilak of being, I do not say legally, but in effect, responsible for murder", he first alluded to a glaring inaccuracy in Chirol's statement "that a man who was convicted of that crime said that he was inspired or prompted by Mr. Tilak's newspaper". He said that on the merits of the evidence available there was no justification for the statement containing those two libels. He dealt in detail with Tilak's writings during the relevant period and he urged:

"This case as regards these last two libels, is, as I presented to you, a case in which a man, who, in the view of many of us, may have done very wrong, and written in a way, which, when the matter is reviewed, lays him open to grave reproach for his seditious writings, but has not been the instigator of these frightful and violent courses."

He had asked the people to find out the murderer of Rand and expose him. He asked the Nasik boys to behave in a legal constitutional way, and said that no good came from violent courses.

Tilak was examined in chief, and, in a long and searching cross-examination, Sir Edward Carson took exactly the same line as suggested by Montgomery. He opened his cross-examination by questions regarding the venue which Tilak chose for the action. *Q.*—Was it not more important for you to set up your character in India than to come all the way to set it up here?—I thought this place was better for the proceedings. *Q.*—Is that because we would not understand the natives?—No; another reason. *Q.*—Or know much about you?

—No; that is not the reason. *Q.*—What is the reason? —The real reason is that this book is read all over the Empire, and a decision of an English Court would be more beneficial to me and would stop the circulation of this libel all over the Empire.

After referring to the concluding remarks of Justice Davar in the 1908 trial, Carson asked him : *Q.*—Tell me, and point out to me any single statement in Sir Valentine Chirol's book, that is severer upon you than that statement of Mr. Justice Davar, one of your own fellow-subjects in India?—Yes, I can. *Q.*—What is it?—It is the actual connection with the fact. I do not complain of opinion; any man may have any opinion of my conduct. I complain of being connected with these murders by a particular series of facts as stated in Chirol's book.

In answer to further questions Tilak said that Swaraj meant self-government under the Empire. Referring to Kanhere's statement, in reply to a question how the idea of killing Sahibs first came into his head, that it appeared to him that "Our people do not get justice from Sahibs", Carson asked: *Q.*—Have you said that over and over again in the *Kesari?*—No. *Q.*—Never? —I do not say never; not over and over again. *Q.*—Was that your view?—In cases between Europeans and natives, there is difficulty for us to get justice in India, that is my view. Further Tilak agreed that he was helping Paranjpe in the sedition cases in which he was later convicted. *Q.*—Has he continued a friend of yours?—He has been a friend for 15 years or more ever since he was in the school. *Q.*—Has he continued up to the present?—Yes. *Q.*—Therefore his conviction

made no difference to you?—No difference in friendship. Q.—Whether it was inciting to murder or assassination or anything else?—No difference in friendship.

Regarding the dedication by Savarkar of his book on Mazzini to Tilak, he said that he read it afterwards. He further said that in 1906 at the Mitra Mela Club, of which Savarkar was a member, both he and his brother were distinctly warned to proceed on constitutional lines by him. Further referring to articles in the *Kesari* on the Bengal Partition, he said that it was the opinion of the writer that the people were being persecuted by the Government and that he did agree with that view to a large extent. Q.—You are praising them for breaking law—for withstanding the persecution, not breaking the law and brave the consequences if we think the law is not good. Q.—I suppose every man judges for himself?—A man must judge reasonably. Q.—If he thinks the law is not good, he must break it?—If the law is broken we have to stand the punishment. That is what we call passive resistance. Regarding the disapproval expressed in the article about the proclamation of loyalty by the leaders in the Punjab, Carson asked him: Q.—Would it not be a good thing to have a proclamation, even inspired, of loyalty when there was a great deal of unrest, disaffection and sedition?—But that was not disloyalty; it was due to oppressive measures. Referring to the question regarding the case of Bepin Chandra Pal, who had refused to give testimony in a political, case in the Court, Tilak said, that the witness may be silent, if he does not want to answer and he puts up with the consequences. He emphatically denied the suggestion that he was attempting to set the Bengalis against the official classes. He

was later questioned regarding the advent of the bombs in Bengal. Q.—Do you mean to say that it was the Partition of Bengal that caused bombs?—Their grievance was the Partition. Q.—And that justified the bombs?—Not justified, that led to the bombs. Tilak further said that he had taken proceedings against the *Times of India* which had imputed encouragement of the murder of Mr. Rand to his articles and got an apology. Q.—If a man comes to the conclusion that the British Officer is exercising unrestricted power he may expect bombs?, is that what you say there?—Not he; in the country, a state of things is produced which creates bombs, as in Ireland. Q.—Was the Partition of Bengal the cause of all this?—Yes, I think so. Q.—Setting up the Partition of Bengal was the cause of the bombs?—Exactly, as in the case of Ireland and Ulster. Q.—Never mind Ulster. Ulster will take care of itself. You will not gain anything by trying to introduce personal matters in this case—I am not introducing personal matters into this case. You will find Ulster quoted in the articles.

Referring to the statement in an article that "It may even be said without hesitation that the inhabitants of that country in which it is possible for this feeling of indignation to always remain thus within prescribed bounds, are destined to remain perpetually in slavery", Tilak explained that it was a general statement and that it is impossible to find a country where you cannot drive the men to desperation. Q.—Does it not also mean that they remain perpetually in slavery unless they resort to violence?—No, not at all, unless it be a country of imbeciles. Questioned on the fact of the murderers of Jackson being Chitpavans, Carson asked: Q.—Were

they of your own caste?—They might be. Q.—Were you the leader of Chitpavan Brahmins, were you not?—These were out of 3 million men. Q.—Were you not the leader of the Chitpavan Brahmins?—I am a Chitpavan Brahmin. I cannot denounce my own caste. Q.—Were you not the leader of them?—I am the leader of the whole people, not of Chitpavan Brahmins. There is nothing in that. Tilak further explained that the moral of the article under discussion was, that, if they use repressive measures, they must justify them by acts and reconciliation. Q.—But supposing the Government thought that it would not be good for India to grant them Swaraj, what were they to do?—It would be a mistake if they persisted in it, because it would lead to estrangement between the people and the Government. Q.—But supposing the Government thought differently, what were they to do?—Then this will go on. Q.—The bombs will go on?—No, not bombs necessarily, but discontent. He further replied to another question that bombs can never be stopped in the world so long as there is autocratic rule. Tilak's point of view as elicited in the replies was, that in writing about the bombs, the writer was not inciting people to take to the bombs, but wanted to warn the Government that it was repression that was giving rise to such incidents.

Carson then referred to the earlier trial of 1897. Tilak said that he did not think the employment of soldiers for purposes of carrying out plague measures was necessary. He denied that he had excited anybody in that period. Q.—Have you abused every Governor that has been there?—I do not know that. Q.—Lord Harris?—If there are unoppressive or unpopular acts, I have criticised them; no matter whose

administration that may be. Carson asked about the observations in an article in the *Kesari* at the time of the famine of 1896 that "England has come into existence to parade its political power before the people of other nations who are its equals in order to make them suffer the miseries of slavery" and whether that was his view, Tilak replied,—if you keep a dependency in a state of dependance it means that. *Q.*—Is that your view?—It means that; that is my answer and that is my view. He further said that it was his view that to keep a nation in perpetual bondage is not right.

Then Carson came to Rand's murder: *Q.*—Did you from the month of April down to the murder of Mr. Rand state over and over again in your papers that in the search of houses a great tyranny was practised by the soldiers?—I did say that. *Q.*—Did you from the moment Mr. Rand was appointed till the date of his death keep on abusing him?—Not abusing him, but pointing out the defects of his administration. On the contrary I co-operated with him. *Q.*—Did you describe him as a suspicious, sullen and tyrannical officer?—The purport is true. *Q.*—Did you say he was guilty of callous and heartless cruelty?—Yes. *Q.*—And do you now ask the jury to believe that your articles in the *Kesari*, after what the man said himself, had nothing to do with Mr. Rand's murder?—I do not think they had anything to do with it. Those acts were before the public. *Q.*—Supposing you wanted to bring about his assassination what would you say of him?—I never wanted to. *Q.*—Supposing you did want to?—If the man acts despotically, what can we do but to expose his acts?; I believe I was within my rights. Further, he

replied, that the assassination was due to the oppressive acts and not to their being exposed.[3]

In further replies Tilak said that the speeches of the Shivaji festival or the poems about Shivaji had no relation to existing facts.

After taking Tilak through news and articles published in the *Kesari*, about the desirability of students taking up to Swadeshi and Tilak's knowledge of various persons convicted for sedition and in the Nasik Conspiracy case, like Bijapurkar, Bhat and Savarkar, he asked questions about Tilak's approach to Government action in respect of Hindu-Muslim riots. Q.—Did you accuse the British Government or its officers for instigating the Muhammedans to make riots?—of partiality? Q.—Of instigating Muhammedans to make riots?—by showing favours, they thereby were encouraged. Q.—The British Government encouraged the Muhammedans to make riot with the Hindus—It is not the Government, it is the officers. Referring to the incidents at Yeola, Mr. Justice Darling asked: Q.—Did the Hindus throw dead pigs into the mosques of Muhammedans?—that is the allegation. Q.—Did they do it?—As a matter of fact I know nothing about it. Q.—Then why did you publish this?—"The white police, standing at a distance, saw the fun and gave encouragement to them saying, 'Well done Bravo!'" Carson pursued the question. Q.—If you knew nothing about it, is not that a terrible charge to make against the white police?—It is a terrible charge. Q.—And you know nothing about

3. At this stage the reader might well remember what Montgomery had to say about the line to be taken by the Defence.

it—I wrote it on information which is supplied to newspaper offices.

About Tai Maharaj case, the Court asked what was the insinuation. Tilak replied, "The insinuation is, that it is only in the earlier stages of the criminal prosecution I was acquitted, but the subsequent events showed that it was premature. He further said, that assuming that what Justice Chandavarkar found was correct, the libel regarding 'want of honesty' would not be justified. He denied any knowledge of Sir Valentine Chirol having informed Tilak's solicitors that he would set the matter right by inserting the Privy Council Judgment in the next edition. Regarding the libel concerned with funds, Sir Edward Carson could not elicit anything useful for his case.

In his re-examination by Sir John Simon, Tilak said that it was false that Chapekar declared that it was the doctrine of Tilak that had driven him to the deed. Q.—I want you to tell the Jury this. In these articles and in conducting this paper, is your object to drive out British Raj—No. It was never my object. Q.—What is your object in the large political sense?—That we should be a self-governing unit of the Empire, like the other units of the Empire. It is the ideal of the national conduct I have been supporting. Simon then elicited from Tilak the contents of the statement that he made, after his release, expressing readiness to assist the British Government in their war against the Germans. About Swadeshi, he said, that they began to use Swadeshi in Bengal as a political weapon in order to bring political pressure on the Government and that the National Congress approved of it. The movement was originally an

industrial movement in Bombay and did not change its character until the Bengal question came up. Referring to his convictions, he said that in both the sedition trials, the Juries were not unanimous. He had known Savarkar; he was a hot-headed youth and Tilak advised him to work constitutionally.

Sir Edward Carson then opened his case. He referred to Tilak as "an able man, a lawyer, a professor, a newspaper proprietor and a politician; nobody doubts his ability, nobody has questioned his position he holds in India amongst the large number of his race, the Hindu race and amongst his own caste, the Brahmins .... From 1893 down to 1918 he has taken advantage of every difficulty that has ever arisen in relation to British Government in India .... and he has spread far and wide, a conspiracy to try and destroy British influence in the Government of that great part of our Empire. He said that the principal reason of his coming to England for this case was on account of his history, well-known in India....What character has he in a Court of Justice.... ? Why ? Tilak has been the greatest libeller of British officers and British Government that is ever written in Newspaper."

"You must look upon this case as a whole. Do not pick out a line here and there. The main charges in this case are with reference to the murder of Mr. Rand and with reference to the murder of Mr. Jackson. If his doctrines expounded in his newspapers have led to these deeds, what becomes of all the rest of the case?" Then he gave his view that his writings were of such a nature, as were likely to have inspired the murders. "Gentlemen, there is the whole doctrine of his preaching. If you have repression, if you have oppression, if you have the Government refusing

to grant the right you want, the natural result is a bomb. Really, with this kind of theory, it would be difficult to judge. If you accept that theory, everybody is to judge for himself when the bomb naturally comes into play .... It is an abominable doctrine .... and if anybody says that it is an abominable doctrine likely to lead to assassination, why does he bring an action of libel?" Regarding the Nasik murder, Carson urged "you are not going to look through a microscope to find something connected actually with the murder and say where the doctrines of crime that he preached began to blossom forth and what particular bloom is due to the particular doctrine of crime that has been enunciated".

Sir Valentine Chirol was then examined for the defence. In his cross-examination he denied that he was being assisted in the case by Robertson. He admitted that one verse, which he has quoted in his book as having been sung by Chapekar, came to him from Sir William Lee Warner, (then Home Secretary at Bombay) who supplied it from notes, which he had collected for a long time, with regard to the sedition propaganda. He said he was a friend of his. In further answers he justified the views that he had propounded in his book. Some witnesses including Lord Sandhurst, Sir Richard Lamb and Mr. Gules were examined for the defence in support of the defence contentions.

It is impossible, within the limits of the study, to give a detailed precis of the whole trial, but from the extracts quoted above from Carson's cross-examination of Tilak, the main lines of the stand taken by the defence are clear. In his final speech addressed to the Jury, Carson emphasised his view that though Tilak's preachings and the murders may not have had a logical connection,

still they should be construed to have been the effect of his teachings.

Carson placed emphasis on Tilak's connection with persons later convicted for seditious or revolutionary activities. There was Paranjpe, the editor of the *Kal*, and convicted for sedition. There were the two Savarkar brothers, known to Tilak from 1905 or 1906 as hot-headed men; notwithstanding that, he helped Savarkar to get a scholarship in England from where he sent out pistols which murdered Jackson. Then there was Bhat convicted, and after release, employed by Tilak in his establishment. Then there was Bijapurkar also convicted for sedition. "These are a gang of treasonable conspirators out there, who, have between them, brought about these disasters. This gentleman coming to a place where he is utterly unknown, where the atmosphere is different and where his history is not understood, comes, as it were with a clean slate, and with different companions, to try and induce you, forsooth to give him a verdict and to give him damages for this libellous action."

Referring to Chirol's statement about the "lash", he said, that "it means the lash of his pen, it is figurative, it is not that he went out to the market place and whipped his people. He did something far worse. There is nobody, from whom he differed, that he did not apply the lash to—Rand, Harris, Sandhurst, everyone of them. Every prince that dared to be loyal to his country, every man who dared to come over here to the Durbar; we have seen specimens of what we called the 'lash'. There was Gokhale, whom I spoke of this morning, "who dared to apologise for lies he told about our soldiers' conduct

at the time of the plague, everyone of them got the lash."

"The truth of the matter is", he urged, "that it is not taking a line here or a line there on which you can decide a libel action of this kind. If the libels impugning his writings led or were calculated to lead to violence and to such results as the murder of Mr. Rand or Mr. Jackson, what on earth have these, what I may call smaller libels, to do with the case? Would any jury hold him entitled to bring an action if he was guilty of the other matter? I venture to predict that such a course would be impossible in the minds of any British Jury. He also stressed the importance of the case from a public point of view." "You are really asked", he said, "and that is the object of his coming here, to set him up in India, as a man who can continue the course of action which he adopted in his place and that he has right, notwithstanding these decisions of the Judges out there in his cases, to do it with impunity. I need hardly remind you of the far-reaching effects of such a verdict as that, on the peace of the Government of India and on the difficulties of the white officials out there who do their duty so well to the country."

Sir John Simon followed in the reply. In vain did he plead that if Tilak "deserved those things, which were said about him by the Judge in 1909, when he was convicted of sedition, Sir Valentine Chirol may call him a black-mailing, common cheat, may call him a murderer, may call him anything that he pleases .... The question therefore comes to this: Here are six separate things said in this book; the defendants have undertaken to prove to you that so far as these statements are matters

of fact, they are true. Have they proved it?" And he proceeded to urge that it was quite plain, as regards some of these matters at any rate, that they have not; and that he was going to submit that about the rest also, it would be true to say that they have not been proved.

In the further course of his arguments, Simon asked the Jury to take the six libels in order, and to judge whether they were justified or not. And he gave his reasons as to why he urged that they were not justified at all. "There may be a good deal in the criticisms of Mr. Tilak", he said, "many things which a lawyer would be sorry to stand up and defend, but that is different from saying that some of the things that he has done are highly reprehensible, that thereupon the defendant received a kind of charter to say anything about him that he likes in any passage of his book, without any regard to whether it is true or false". In respect of Tilak's writings about Rand, he urged the jury to take into consideration the fact that Mr. Tilak did play in some respects an honourable part in connection with fighting the plague; the judge who sentenced him for his seditious articles said so. "At a time when a great many people deserted the plague-stricken city of Poona, he was like a good citizen sitting there and doing his best to fight the plague .... He was teaching the people, who read his papers, in what the system of protection consisted; he even was teaching these people that it would be necessary to endure something which would go very much against them .... You will find articles, in which Tilak had been to all appearances urging that his readers should accept it for the sake of putting this curse down, and he urged that the evidence

on record did not justify Chirol's statement in this regard.

Dealing with the Nasik murder case, he asked the Jury to give due mind to the following considerations: Firstly, there is no reference to, no comment on, no criticism of, Jackson in the plaintiff's newspaper at all; secondly, it is clear beyond doubt that "so far from instigating the wild spirits of Nasik to go in for extravagant action, he spoke severely of boys that were there and warned them and told them that the methods of constitutional agitation were the only methods which they must follow". In fact, Gosavi, one of the Nasik conspirators examined on behalf of the defence confirmed this fact; secondly, there is a confession of Kanhere, that he committed the crime at the bidding of his friend Karve....He nowhere suggests that the newspaper, the *Kesari*, had ever suggested to him, or, any newspaper had ever suggested to him, that he should murder Mr. Jackson. The mere fact that he stated, that he had read many instances of oppression in the *Kesari*, *Rashtramat*, *Kal* and other Newspapers, does not lead us to the conclusion that he committed the murder at the instance of any newspaper; and finally, urged Simon, the fact was in evidence that there were a great number of native papers—some 150 or 200 in the Presidency and actually a good number in Poona.

Referring to the point that Sir Edward Carson had made about the public importance of the case, he said, "I very much question, for my part, whether a jury of twelve citizens, taken away from their business and

asked to turn their minds, brains and sense about somebody else's quarrel for so long as we have—no more than a Councillor or Judge is concerned, in the course of a case such as this, that what may be supposed to be the ultimate consequences of this verdict or that. And he added that if the Jury found in Tilak's favour, he asked them to express that view by awarding such moderate and reasonable sum, as will indicate the fact, that here in the central city of the Empire, a man, be he ever so seditious, be he ever so mischievous, may nonetheless rely upon a Jury of those, who, after all, are his fellow-subjects to see that he is not without a redress when he is libelled by being accused of many grievous offences, and the justification set up is that he has been convicted of sedition and has written much which brings him grave admonition.

Summing up the case Justice Darling dealt with the various charges against the defendant. His observations leaned against the plaintiff's case. Regarding the connection between murders and Tilak's writings he said, "If a man writes seditious writings, over and over again, so bad that he has two sentences passed upon him, the last being six years of penal servitude and people read what he writes and one of them commits a murder in consequence of what he writes in those papers, although it was useless to draw an indictment against a man and accuse him as a participant in the crime, as an accessory before the fact—that is all that he could be charged with—although that would be absurd, unjust and untrue to say that he was the real author of the crime.?" Referring to the nature of the case, he asked the jury to consider the facts and

come to their own conclusions. If they held for the plaintiff then "it is right that you should remember who he is, privately and publicly, what character he bears, and you should consider how much the defendant can have injured". In this connection, he referred to Justice Davar's observation about Tilak, which, among other things, included the statement, that "it would be a diseased mind that could ever think that the articles that he had written could be legitimately written. Your hatred of the ruling classes has not disappeared during these ten years, and these articles deliberately and definitely written week after week were not written, as you say, on the spur of the moment, but a fortnight after the cruel and cowardly outrages committed on English women, persistently and definitely referred to a bomb as if it was one of the instruments of political warfare. I say such journalism is a curse to the country." "Now suppose", he said, "that Sir Valentine Chirol knew that it was published all over India and all over England, is there anything in it calculated to do him as much harm as that? And in this connection, he referred to the order served on Tilak (in 1918), prohibiting him from making any speeches, "because he was making, in the circumstances, speeches that were designed to weaken the power of this country by getting the people not to join the army to fight that enemy".

After his summing up, the Judge put to the jury the libel not piecemeal but as a whole. The Jury retired for 27 minutes and the foreman declared that they found for the defendants and he dismissed the claim of Tilak and gave judgment for the defendants—Chirol and the Macmillans, with costs.

CHAPTER XVI

THE HOME RULE CAMPAIGN: 1914-1917

(i) *An Interregnum*: 1908-1914

The action against Tilak was symbolic of Government's determination to suppress the nationalist movement in India. Aurobindo Ghose was already proceeded against and arrested (1908) in the Maniktola Conspiracy Case along with Barindra Babu and others. He was an undertrial prisoner when Tilak was convicted. He was acquitted and released in 1909, and continued his work through the new journal, *Karmayogi*, but went first to Chandernagore (1910), and later, to Pondicherry to pursue his yogic pursuits. The Editors of *Kal* and *Bhala*, both Marathi papers, were also convicted and sentenced. Hari Sarvottam Rao, a prominent leader in Andhra, was also sentenced to three years' imprisonment. There were similar convictions in other parts of India also. Bepin Chandra Pal and Lajpat Rai went to England in August 1908. Pal returned to India in 1909, and was sentenced to one month's imprisonment for publication of seditious articles. Lajpat Rai went from England to United States where he busied himself with propaganda in support of the nationalist movement. Thus, the movement lost guidance of its principal leaders. Surendranath Banerjea and his colleagues in Bengal continued the movement against Partition till it was annulled in 1912.

Government's action for suppressing an open movement naturally strengthened the revolutionaries in their

activities. In spite of the blow struck at the revolutionary group by action taken against Barindra Babu and his colleagues, the other revolutionary groups took up the work and continued their activities. An approver in the Alipore Conspiracy Case, Naren Gossain, was shot in the jail by one of the accused on 1st September, 1908. Ashutosh Biswas, the Public Prosecutor, who had conducted the Alipore Conspiracy Case, was also shot and killed in February 1909, while leaving the High Court, Calcutta. It was at this time that middle-class youths began committing dacoities for strengthening the financial resources of the revolutionary groups. Simultaneously, revolutionary activities were being organised in foreign countries. Shyamji Krishna Varma had organised the 'India House' in London in 1906 and started a revolutionary paper, *The Indian Socialogist.* Vinayak Savarkar went to England in 1906 with the aid of a scholarship granted by Krishna Varma and commenced his revolutionary activities. He smuggled 20 Mauser pistols into India. Madan Lal Dhingra shot Curzon Wilie and Lal Kaka in London (1909). A group of young men under the inspiration of Savarkar were organising revolutionary activities in Nasik. The District Magistrate of Nasik was shot dead in a public theatre in Nasik on the 21st December, 1909. Seven men were sentenced for the murder, three of them to death. In the Nasik Conspiracy Case, which followed, 27 young men were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. In the meantime, the revolutionary activities in Bengal continued unabated; the number of their 'actions' till 1917 were 210, for which 1038 persons were arrested, and 811 were convicted under 39 prosecutions. Government encountered great difficulties in suppressing these

activities. The police were not able to cope with the work and the courts refused to convict on insufficient evidence. During this period there were similar revolutionary activities in the other provinces also. The District Magistrate of Tinnevelly was killed (1909). Har Dayal then in the United States, was preaching revolution through his paper, *Ghadar* (Revolution). There was skirmish between some Indians, who landed at Calcutta by the ship *Komagatamaru*, in which 18 Sikhs were killed. Revolutionary propaganda was also being carried on from Germany after the War began.

Government armed itself with special legislation to meet the situation. The Criminal Law Amendment Act (11-12-1908) provided for the constitution of Special Benches of High Court Judges without Jury, for the trial of specified offences and empowered Government to declare, in their discretion, any organisation to be unlawful. Nine prominent men, including Aswini Kumar Dutta, were deported, under Regulation III of 1818, in December 1908. The Press Act (1910) empowered Government to demand securities from newspapers and to forfeit printing presses which were used for subversive purposes. The Seditious Meetings Act was placed permanently on the Statute Book in 1911. Government made full use of the powers under these enactments, as a result of which many organisations had to cease working. But the revolutionary movement could not be suppressed in spite of all action taken by the authorities. The annulment of the Partition and the reunification of the two Bengals announced by the King Emperor in a Special Coronation Durbar in 1911 had no effect upon the revolutionaries. A bomb was thrown the very next year on Lord Hardinge, the then

Viceroy, when he was entering Delhi in State, in December 1912. The matter thus became one of serious concern to the authorities in Bengal. The police organisation came very near collapse and one officer confessed that he had not the courage to go out, on a single night, during the preceding four years. The Bengal Government asked for special measures to deal with the situation. There was discussion of their proposals in the Viceroy's Council. The Home Member urged, that in view of the fact, that the ordinary administrative machinery of police and courts had broken down, special emergency measures should be undertaken. He however, added that "though very strongest repressive measures are now necessary, constructive remedies are likewise needed: We cannot govern on repression alone." Syed Ali Imam, however, demurred. He did not believe that it was possible to govern Bengal by repression and repression alone.

"The danger of swelling the ranks of the extremists had to be realised, for the disappearance of the Moderates will present a problem that will defy solution, and the position will be far serious than it is today. Punishments has its limitations, and it is not possible to turn the whole of that province into a jail. It will be impolitic, I submit, to ignore the policy of Lord Morley, which was to rally the Moderates on the side of Government."

In his opinion the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry (as had been proposed) and the promulgation of an Ordinance presented difficulties and were hazardous as experiments. To which the Home Member retorted, that, "if the Moderates required so much rallying that they will alienate by action against anarchists, they must be queer Moderates." He cited the instance of Surendra-

nath Banerjea, who had been opposing Government in the Legislature and took on the editorial staff of his paper an ex-deportee, and on the office staff, an ex-editor of the *Yugantar*, who had been imprisoned for the worst kind of anarchical sedition. "Our attempt to conciliate Surendranath Banerjea has not been productive of much support from him or his friends." The Viceroy was not in support of an Ordinance as proposed, but was agreeable to certain amendments to the Criminal Procedure Code, so as to make them applicable to meet the situation in Bengal. He also agreed with the idea of sending some troops to Bengal to take over guard duties and to prepare a law for the control and supervision of unaided schools.

It was under the Defence of India Act (1915) passed after the commencement of the War that Government could take some effective action. A large number of suspected persons were detained under the provisions of that Act. To anticipate matters a little, an Official committee was appointed with Justice Rowlatt, Judge of the King's Bench Division in England, and five other members to advise Government. It was the legislation, passed in accordance with the recommendations of this Committee, that gave rise to the Satyagraha movement under the lead of Mahatma Gandhi.

Side by side with repressive measures came the Morley-Minto reforms. Morley had tried to appease public opinion by appointment of Indians to the Executive Council of the Viceroy, and to the Council of the Secretary of State. The reforms were embodied in an Act of Parliament which came into operation in the middle of 1909. The reforms provided for an expansion of the Imperial and the Provincial Legislative Councils

and a larger proportion of elected members. Resolutions could be moved and supplementary questions could be asked but there was no control of the legislature over the executive. The reforms though considered very progressive by those who supported them, were found in a short time inadequate to meet the needs of the situation. The Indian National Congress now solely consisting of Moderates continued to hold its yearly sittings year after year with a very thin attendance of delegates. It continued to urge the introduction of further constitutional reforms but no one listened to them.

(ii) *Preparing the Ground*

The news of Tilak's release spread immediately. Hundreds of admirers came and paid their respects even at that late hour. From next day, for about a fortnight, his home was literally besieged by people who came to have his 'Darshan'. Ten to fifteen thousand people must have met him during that period. On the 20th, it was resolved at a public meeting to garland and congratulate him personally on the next day. Accordingly about three thousand persons went to his residence. Representatives from various parts of the Presidency and from C. P. and Berar were there. He was garlanded on behalf of numerous institutions and representatives. In reply, Tilak said:

"There is a difference between happiness and sorrow. Grief is lessened by a sharer, not so happiness. The crowd that has gathered here and the numerous friends who came to see me during the last few days have increased my happiness on my release, a hundred thousand fold..... When I came back after six years, I was reminded of the story of Rip Van Winkle. When

I was in prison, it was so arranged, that I should forget the world completely. The crowd that has assembled here to welcome me, makes me feel, that people have not forgotten me. Nor have I forgotten the people. My love for my people cannot be demonstrated in the same manner that my people have expressed for me here. Take it from me, however, my love for our people is the same as it was before. I shall behave with you in the same manner, the same relationship and the same capacity, as before, and you people here are proof of the fact that you are prepared to accept me as such....Many have asked me about the future. It is necessary first to see whether the way by which we are going is clear. Perhaps we might have to make it clear. You will, therefore, appreciate my silence on that point. This is not an occasion for being blind with affection. What I have said is an introduction, and you can anticipate the contents of the book that is to come."

On the 26th June, Government issued a circular to the effect that Tilak should be looked upon as an enemy of the British rule until he showed, by overt acts, that he had altered his views, and persons associating with him must be considered to be unfriendly. A police post was established near his residence to watch the visitors. Meanwhile, war broke out in Europe on the 4th August and Tilak published a statement (27th August), explaining his views on the situation. He said that the Morley-Minto reforms would show that Government was fully alive to the necessity of progressive change and desired to associate people more and more in the work of the Government; he also hoped, that in the end, the good, arising out of the constitutional reforms, would abide and prevail, and that what was objectionable would disappear in course of time. He referred to Chirol's book, and thought that he ought to take the first public oppor-

tunity to indignantly denounce the "nasty and totally unfounded charges" against him.

"I may state, once for all, that we were trying in India, as the Irish Home Ruler has been doing in Ireland, for the reform of a system of administration and not for the overthrow of Government; and I have no hesitation in saying that the acts of violence which have been committed in the different parts of India are not only repugnant to me, but have, in my opinion, actually unfortunately retarded, to a great extent, the cause of our political progress. Whether looked at from individual, or public point of view, they deserve, as I have said on many occasions, to be equally condemned."

And he expressed his firm opinion that it was the duty of every Indian to support and assist His Majesty's Government to the best of his ability. Government withdrew its order on surveillance after the statement was issued.

The statement was obviously his first step in clearing his way to normal public life, and though worded a little exuberantly, the substance certainly represented his views, as, firstly, he had never countenanced the method of physical force, and secondly, he firmly held the view, that, if the British were defeated in the war, the new conqueror would begin India's exploitation from the beginning, which would be much worse than the continuance of the British rule.

The next obvious step was to enter the Congress. In that matter, Mrs. Annie Besant, who, as the head of the Theosophic Movement, claimed a large following in India and outside, took the initiative. She had appeared on the Congress platform in 1914 and she now thought that a compromise between the two wings in the Congress should be brought about in national

interest. She saw Tilak with Subba Rao, the Secretary of the Congress, on December 5th. She had already consulted Gokhale who was agreeable to a compromise. The amendments to the Congress Constitution which she had proposed, which were agreeable both to Tilak and Gokhale, would have enabled any association having Colonial self-government as its object, to elect delegates to the Congress, whereas, the existing Constitution provided that the election should be made at public meetings convened by Congress Committees or other recognised bodies. Subba Rao later went to Pherozeshah Mehta, who, however, was not agreeable to the amendment. Subba Rao returned to Poona and orally conveyed to Gokhale the conversation that he had with Tilak, that Tilak's view was, that while there was no difference between the two schools regarding their objective, the difference lay in the approach: the Moderate Party believed in association-cum-opposition, while the New Party believed in opposition pure and simple. Tilak further held, that they should concentrate only on one demand, namely, that for Self-government within the Empire, and he and his party, once they came inside the Congress would try to work for obtaining a majority for their method in the Congress. On learning this Gokhale wrote, to Bhupendranath Basu, a letter explaining his withdrawal from his original agreement. When the matter was discussed at the Madras Congress (December, 1915), the President Bhupendranath Basu read that letter to the Subjects Committee. On this, Besant wired to Tilak whether he advocated Boycott of the Government, and Tilak promptly wired back, that he had never advocated Boycott of Government, and that prominent nationalists had ser-

ved and were serving in municipal and legislative councils, and that he had fully supported their action, both privately and publicly. The Subjects Committee of the Madras Congress referred this question to a Committee. It was a fact, that even during the Swadeshi days, Tilak, while justifying a possible policy of a total boycott casually, had never advocated it as an item of immediate current application. There was an acrimonious controversy between Gokhale and Tilak on what had happened. Nature now enacted a tragic irony. Within a short time after this bitter controversy, Gokhale died (19th February 1916). All enmities were forgotten, all differences were hushed in the presence of death, and Tilak paid a sincere tribute to Gokhale, both in the funeral oration and in the obituary article in the *Kesari*. Writing about Gokhale's dedication to national work, he said,

"It requires a great self-restraint, it requires a great will to turn one's back on the temptations of life, with a prospect of a sure happiness, especially when one is confident of more than normal achievement, and to devote oneself ceaselessly to national work and to find life's fulfilment in such work, with a perfect willingness to suffer, in the face of all adversities that may come."

And this, he said, applied fully to Gokhale. He was overwhelmed at the time of speaking near the funeral pyre. "This is not a time for cheers", he said, "this is a time for shedding tears. This diamond of India, this jewel of Maharashtra, this prince of workers, is laid to eternal rest in the funeral ground. Look at him and try to emulate him."

Pherozeshah Mehta, unfortunately, also died later in the year. The talk about the compromise continued

during the whole of 1915, and at the Bombay Session of the Congress, a satisfactory change in the Constitution was made and any association of not less than two years' standing and having, colonial self-government by constitutional means as its ideal, could elect delegates to the Congress.

The third step that Tilak took, was to normalise public activities and to canalise the popular demand for further political rights. Even earlier than his release, (27-2-1915), the Home Member in the Government of India had noted that, "Tilak had many close adherents in the Berar, in the Central Provinces proper, in Indore and Gwalior, and many admirers in Bengal, U.P., and Lahore. It is only natural, therefore, that we should like to know Bombay's estimate of the extent to which his influence is likely to revive. Personally, I think that, if nothing else, he will work underground to revive discontent and agitation. I do not for a moment suppose that he is converted." On reference, the Bombay Government replied, that there was a significant change in the political situation and that the Governor was confident, that through the Press Act and other means, the Deccan could be prevented from falling into the openly seditious conditions of 1908. "While, therefore, Tilak's return to Poona is likely to lead to recommencing of agitation, which is at present dormant, there is little chance of his being able to raise the ferment of former days."

Tilak began his activities cautiously after his release. He was, at the same time, re-establishing his touch with the public. He resumed his connections with the Paisa Fund Committee and the Swadeshi Co-

operative Stores. He recommenced taking interest in the Ganapati festival. On the 13th January he attended a meeting in honour of Gandhi, under the auspices of the Bombay National Union, and spoke appreciating the services rendered by Gandhi to the country. He attended a meeting of the Rashtriya Club in Poona, on the 29th January, and on 7th February, he presided over a meeting in connection with the Ramdas anniversary.

(iii) *The Home Rule Movement*: 1916-1917

The first active step, however, was taken by organising a Provincial Conference in Poona in May, 1915; Joseph Baptista presided, and the meeting was a success, with an attendance of 2,000 persons. The proceedings were characterised by a spirit of moderation. The police report noted that the whole affair was a triumph for Tilak. A resolution was passed appointing a Committee consisting of Belvi, Tilak and Baptista, to bring about unity in the Congress. Tilak proposed a resolution wishing success to the Allies, and said that it was in the interest of India that Britain should succeed, as there was greater hope of Swarajya from the British. The Moderates who kept aloof from this conference, had their own, on the 10th July, but it was very poorly attended. During 1915, Tilak continued his active participation in various public activities. His *Gita Rahasya* was published in June, of which the first edition was sold out in a few days. He presided over one of the meetings of the Shivaji anniversary on the 7th June. Tilak took quiet rest at a village in the Poona District during the months of September and October; he, however, visited Poona at the time of the Ganapati celebrations.

(iv) *The Home Rule League*

On the 24th December, a meeting of Nationalists was held at Tilak's house in Poona, and it was resolved that a Home Rule League, for Maharashtra, should be established. In the meantime, Besant had announced her proposal of forming a Home Rule League (25-9-1915). Tilak fully supported her idea, but at the Bombay Congress, deferring to the views of the Moderate leaders, Besant postponed her idea. The idea of Home Rule began to be popular and even Moderates like Bhupendranath Basu, Shastri, Sinha supported the idea. The next effective step was taken at Belgaum at the time of the Provincial Conference (27th, 28th and 29th April, 1916). The Conference approved the idea of joining the Congress under the Constitution as amended at its Bombay Session. The Home Rule League was formally inaugurated on the 28th April with Baptista as the President, and Kelkar as Secretary. Tilak delivered a speech on Home Rule on the 1st May under the auspices of this new organisation. From now on, Tilak adopted a typical technique for canalising public opinion on Home Rule. His thesis was that their objective was Home Rule within the Empire, that the Government as was being carried on, was not in the interest of the people, that the bureaucracy was standing in the way, that it was necessary to replace this bureaucracy by an administration, responsible to the people, and that it was Home Rule that could bring about such a popular administration and that it was not seditious to propagate the idea of such a Home Rule. He spoke for the masses, and therefore he spoke in a homely manner in pithy short sentences with illustrations, which a common man could easily understand,

and in a language which was simpler than any used on the public platform. He avoided elaborate arguments and riveted the attention of the people on one single point—the need for achieving Home Rule, if popular good is to be served.

"What is Swarajya?", he said in his speech at Belgaum. "Why do we ask for it? Are we fit for it or not? In what manner must we make this demand of Swarajya, of those to whom we have to make it; in what direction and on what lines are we to carry on the work which we have to carry on?....The idea of Swarajya is an old one. Of course, when Swarajya is spoken of, there is some kind of rule opposed to Swa (i.e. 'our'), and this idea arises at that time. This is plain....When such a condition arises, it begins to be thought that there should be *Swarajya* and men make efforts for that purpose. You are at present in that sort of condition. Those who are ruling you do not belong to your religion, race or even country. The question, whether this rule by English Government is good or bad is different. The question about 'one's own and alien' is different."

Explaining the point that it is not sedition to ask for a change in the administration, he said:

"Who rules in India? Does the Emperor come and do it? He is to be taken in procession, like God, on all occasions. We are to manifest our loyalty towards him. This alone is their duty. Through whom is then the administration carried on? It is carried on through those who are now servants—the State Secretary, the Viceroy, Governor, below him, the Collector, the Patel and lastly, the police sepoy. If it be said that one police sepoy should be transferred and another police sepoy should be given, would that constitute sedition? If it be said, that the Collector, who has come, is not wanted and that another is wanted, would that constitute sedition? If it be said that one Governor is not wanted, another Governor should be brought, would that constitute sedition?" Referring to the point, that *Swarajya* is the only

solution to their difficulties, he said, "We want this one thing, to-day. When this one is got, the remaining things come into our possession themselves. This is the one root of thousand things which we are asking for. When we get this key into our hands, we can open not only one but five or ten doors at once." About India's fitness for Self-Government, he said:

"Why are we not fit? Have we no nose, no eyes, no ears, no intellect? Can we not write; have we not read books, can we not ride a horse? Why are we not fit? A Jew in one of Shakespear's dramas asked, "I ask you, what have we not? 'You have not done work'. It is not given at all, when are we to do it? (*cheers*) ... You bring from England quite a new man of 21 years. What can he do? Has he any experience at all? He comes all at once and straightaway becomes Assistant Collector and becomes a superior of Mamlatdar, though the latter be 60 years old. Where is a Collector of 21 years? (*cheers*). Has 60 years' experience no value? A man of 21 years comes and begins to teach you. Generally, he makes this Mamlatdar of sixty years stand before him. He does not give even a chair for sitting, and this poor man stands before him because he is to get Rs. 150/-, 200/-, 400/-." (*cheers*)

Developing the point further, he referred to the fact that Indians were governing themselves before the British came, and said:

"At the present time, science has made progress, knowledge has increased, experience has accumulated at one place; hence, we must have more liberty than before and we must have become fitter. On the contrary, it is said we are not fit. Whatever might have been the case in former times, this allegation is utterly false. Better say, it is not to be given. (*cheers*). What I say is, do not apply the words, 'Not fit'. At least we shall know that this is not really to be given. We shall get it; but why do we not get it? It is indirectly said, that we are not fit. It is to teach you that we have come here. This is admitted. But how long will you

teach us? (*laughter*). For one generation, for two generations, or three generations? Is there any end to this? Or, must we, just like this, work under you like slaves till the end?" (*cheers*).

Dwelling on the point that it is not sedition to ask for rights, Tilak said:

"What do we ask for? Do we say, drive away the English Government? But I ask, what is it to the Emperor? Does the Emperor lose anything whether the administration is carried on by the civil servants, or by our Belvi Sahib? (*cheers*). The rule still remains, the Emperor still remains. The difference would be, that the white servant, who was with him, would be replaced by a black servant. (*cheers*). From whom does this opposition come? This opposition comes from those people who are in power. It does not come from the Emperor. From the Emperor's point of view, there is neither anarchy nor want of loyalty, nor sedition in this. What does sedition mean? Hatred of the King. Does King means a police sepoy?" (*laughter*).

He further indicated the procedure for obtaining their rights:

"Amendment is to be brought about in the present law; it is to be brought about through Parliament. We will not ask for it from others....The Allies may be there; we have not to petition them. The petition is to be made to the English people, to the English Parliament". In his final appeal to the Belgaum audience, he said: "We want rights, we want certain sort of arrangement giving happiness. We will get our rights. We will get them. Make the effort that is to be made. Be ready to do this work with the thought that it belongs to you. I am sure that by the grace of God, the next generation will not fail to obtain the fruit of this work, though it may not be obtained in your life time."

The reader will note the new method of his propaganda. By this time the intellectuals in general had been converted, and the Moderates were being reduced

to a minority. It was for the masses that Tilak spoke and the masses looked upon him as their Saviour. He was to them the Loka Manya—The Peoples' Tribune. A District Magistrate had reported to Government that the people now worshipped Tilak as a God. No wonder. Here was their leader who had spent himself in the cause of Swaraj. When he spoke, they felt that it was not an individual, but a principle, a cause and an institution that spoke to them. And hereafter Tilak's career was a career, not of an endeavour, but of an achievement and a triumph.

On his way back, he was received at Satara, and a right royal reception was given to him. In his speech he urged his audience to imbibe the virtues of patriotism, courage, self-sacrifice and indifference to danger and to acquire these virtues, by constantly keeping before their minds, the exploits of Shivaji and his compatriots. If they were pessimists and dreaded the law of prosecution, they must be content to remain in perpetual bondage. Mrs. Besant visited Poona (22nd May), and spoke on the 'Future of India' and on 'Home Rule', under Tilak's presidentship. Tilak visited Ahmednagar on the 31st May and attended the Ahmednagar District Conference on the 1st and 2nd of June. While there, he delivered two speeches on Home Rule, on the same lines as at Belgaum. In the course of an interview, he told a police officer that they (the Home Rulers) did anticipate a good deal of opposition, but that they were convinced that the cause was based on constitutional principles and that they would carry on work fearlessly.

"We do not expect to succeed at once, but the Home Rule movement will be very popular with the masses. It will slump any movement that Moderates can initiate.

and restore to our party the prestige that we have lost during the past seven or eight years."

The 23rd July was Tilak's 61st birthday. A reception was organised in his honour. Five to six thousand persons were present including representatives from Karnatak, Berar, Gujerat and Bombay City. Speeches eulogising Tilak's work for the Mother-land were made, and one lakh of rupees was presented to him as a token of their high esteem. Tilak's reply was characteristic. He said,

"The national work before all of us, is so comprehensive, and so urgent, that you must take it up, with a greater determination and zeal, than I have done. It cannot be postponed. Our Mother-land is calling upon all of us to undertake this work, and I do not feel that her sons will not respond to that call. I have only to appeal, listen to this call of the Mother-land, let us sink all differences, let us all become *Rashtra Devas* (one to whom the country is a God). There is no room for unseemly competition, no room for jealousies, or notions of prestige and it is no use being afraid of dangers. God is great and He will fulfil our mission. Be sure that the fruit of what we do will be enjoyed by the next generation, if not the present. Everyone must apply himself to this national work without an expectation. God bless you. My only prayer to the Almighty God is, that this inspiration may goad all to work, and I may be able to see the fruit thereof with my own eyes."

The irony of the situation was that while arrangements for Tilak's Diamond Jubilee were being made, Government were thinking of taking action against Tilak for his speeches. A notice was served upon him to show cause why he should not be bound over for a sum of Rs. 20,000 with two sureties for Rs. 10,000 each to be of good behaviour for one year. Under § 108 Cr. Pr. Code for the speeches he delivered at Bel-

gaum and Ahmadnagar. The hearing of the case commenced on the 7th July. Barrister Jinnah appeared for Tilak and argued that the speeches taken as a whole disclosed no sedition. On the 12th the District Magistrate ordered Tilak to sign a bond for Rs. 20,000 and furnish two sureties each in a sum of Rs. 10,000. Tilak tendered the required sureties but immediately appealed to the High Court. The appeal came up for hearing on the 8th and 9th November and Justices Bachelor and Shah reversed the order of the District Magistrate. While admitting that there were passages in the speeches which were objectionable, the Judges were unable to hold that the natural and the probable effects of the speeches, taken as a whole, on the minds of those who were addressed, would be to bring into hatred and contempt, or to excite disaffection towards the Government established by law in British India. On learning the news, the Home Member of the Government of India observed that "the results have been very mischievous." It was a fact that the High Court judgment resulted in strengthening the cause of Home Rule.

In the meantime, Besant had been very active in the propagation of the cause of Home Rule through the *New India* and the *Commonweal*. She eloquently pleaded the cause of Indian Home Rule with greater latitude of expression than would have been possible for any Indian Leader. She naturally attracted the wrath of the bureaucracy. A security for Rs. 2,000 was taken for articles in the *New India;* it was forfeited in September and another security of Rs. 10,000 from the *New India* and Rs. 5,000 from the *Commonweal* was demanded and taken. Besant started the All-India Home Rule League

on the 1st of September and called upon her followers at various centres to open branches thereof. Besant by her continuous work in the constructive field for more than forty years, had earned a large following in the country as Head of the Theosophy movement. Ever since 1914, she had all along been trying for bringing a rapprochement between the two prevailing groups in the Congress and her efforts had succeeded in the Bombay session. By mutual consent, her Home Rule League was to operate in the whole of India excepting Bombay, Maharashtra, Karnatak, Berar and the C. P., where Tilak's league was to function. Tilak heartily supported Besant in all her work, and condemned the repressive measures taken against her. Almost all prominent leaders in the country including the typically Moderate leaders now came to espouse the Home Rule cause. Motilal Nehru, whose association with public work had been a long one and who occupied an esteemed position in U.P., and C. R. Das who had identified himself with the national cause since the days of partition, took an active lead in the Home Rule Movement. Subramania Iyer, Retired Acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, also made the cause his own. The years 1916 and 1917 must really be counted as very bright in the history of our freedom struggle.

Tilak attended the Bombay Provincial Conference at Ahmedabad. An unusual feature, observed the police report, was the fact that when Tilak arrived, he was taken in a giant procession, the earlier practice being, that only the President of the Session was given the honour of such a procession. Jinnah presided over the Conference and supported the Moderate scheme, which had been prepared by Gokhale before his death, as also a scheme by

nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council. The Ahmedabad Session reiterated the national demand for further reforms.

The Lucknow Session of the Congress (1916), marked a new epoch. In the Bombay Session, Surendra Nath Banerjea had urged that the time had come for taking further steps to establish Self-government in India. The All-India Muslim League, attended by leaders like Jinnah, Dr. Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, also held its session in Bombay at the same time and supported the demand for Self-Government. It was resolved that the Congress and the League should unite together and frame a common demand. Accordingly, during the year, a common scheme was evolved and was ready to be placed before the Lucknow Session for final acceptance. This was the first session after Surat that the Nationalist Party was to appear on a common platform with the Moderate Party. A 'Home Rule Special' carried Tilak and his contingent to Lucknow and receptions given to the party on the stations *enroute,* were unique. At Lucknow, Tilak was given a royal welcome. Though the original idea was that he should go into the city unobtrusively in a car, the crowds that assembled at the station determined on taking him in a procession, cut the tyres of the car and dragged his open carriage through the streets to his residence. He could almost say with Caesar "I came, I saw, I conquered". When he arrived at the pandal, he was besieged by the admirers at the gates, and carried by them on their shoulders to the dais. The session, presided over by Ambika Charan Mazumdar was memorable for its resolution on the scheme for self-government, evolved in common by the A.I.C.C., and the Muslim League Committee.

The terms of this agreement as embodied in the resolution were as follows: (1) Provincial autonomy. (2) four-fifths of the members of the Central and Provincial legislative Councils be elected. (3) Not less than half of the members of the Central and Provincial Executive Councils should be responsible to their respective legislatures. (4) The resolutions in the legislatures should be binding on the Governments, Central and Provincial, and if vetoed by the Governor-General or the Governor as the case may be, to be binding if passed again after one year. (5) Foreign affairs should be solely with the Central Government. (6) India should have the same status as the Dominions.

Regarding representation to the Muslim community, it was agreed that (1) the Muslims should have separate electorates. (2) The Muslim representation in Bengal should be raised from 10 to 40 per cent and in the Punjab from 25 to 55 per cent. (3) In the other provinces, the Muslims would obtain more seats than they had or would have on the population basis. (4) Muslim representation at the Centre to be one-third.

Tilak supported the resolution and when he rose to address the delegates, he was greeted with an unprecedented ovation. He said,

"I am not foolish enough to think that this reception is given to my humble self; it is given, if I rightly understand, to the principles for which I have been fighting, principles, which have been embodied in the resolution I have the honour to support. I am glad to say, that I have lived these ten years to see that we are going to put our voice and shoulder together to push on the claim of self-government. We have found luck in Lucknow. We are now united in every way in the United Provinces."

Speaking at a Home Rule Conference (30th December), he said:

"The Lucknow Session has become the most important session of the Congress .. Hindus and Muslims have been brought together. There is a feeling among the Hindus that too much has been given. I think the objection is not rational. As a Hindu, I have certainly no objection to making this concession. .. We cannot rise from our present intolerable condition without the aid of Muslims. So in order to gain the desired end, there is no objection to giving a percentage, greater percentage, to the Muslims. The fight at present is a triangular fight. You have to wrest the whole self-government from out of the hands of a powerful bureaucracy."

The Lucknow Congress thus succeeded in giving a united front to the bureaucracy. After the conclusion of the Session, Tilak and Besant undertook what were termed, in the Police reports, "triumphant tours" through the Central Provinces and the Berar and the Eastern Coast Districts respectively. Tilak first visited Cawnpore and Calcutta and on his way back he visited and addressed monster meetings at Nagpur, Yeotmal, Akola and other places. Even the earstwhile moderate leaders vied with the nationalists in receiving him.

The movement to enrol volunteers for the army was now afoot and Government proposed to throw open the ranks to all who joined. In a meeting at Poona, Tilak called upon young men to enrol themselves without delay. He made a similar appeal at a meeting in Bombay on the 2nd March and eight hundred young men registered themselves on the spot. He attended a meeting of the A.I.C.C., at Calcutta on the 4th April, where it was resolved that a deputation should be sent to England on behalf of the Congress. He then undertook a tour in the Belgaum district. The Bombay Provincial

Conference, this time attended both by the Moderates and the Nationalists, met on the 17th May. The first annual meeting of the Home Rule League was also held there on the 17th and 18th. The Annual Report showed that 14,218 members had been enrolled during the year, that Rs. 15,000 had been collected and that 47,000 pamphlets had been distributed. The Home Rule movement, which was thus gathering strength, naturally became a headache to the bureaucracy.

(v) *Bureaucratic Repression*[1]

The rising tide of the Home Rule movement naturally gave a severe headache to the bureaucracy. The Home Member of the Government of India raised this point on the 17th January, 1917. Some time earlier, as part of conciliatory measures to stem the political restlessness, specially in Bengal, the Government of India had made proposals to the Secretary of State about some administrative reforms, including greater Indianisation of the local bodies and increasing Indian element in the Legislatures, without devolution of responsibility. The Home Member felt that the orders on these reform proposals should not be delayed. In his appreciation of the situation, the Home Member observed:

"The position is one of great difficulty. Moderate leaders can command no support among the vocal classes who are being led at the heel of Tilak and Besant. The greater figures among the Moderates had passed away. The purity of the intentions of Mrs. Besant and Tilak has been certified by two High Courts, though every-

1. I have relied on *Confidential Proceedings*, 1917, Government of India, Home Department, Political,—A, for July 1917, Nos. 299-313 k.w. *Attitude of Government towards the Home Rule Movement*, in writing this.

body knows that the former is influenced by the passionate desire of a vain old lady to be a leader of movements, and by the venom of hatred of the latter (i.e., Tilak) against everything British....If our proposals are sanctioned, I am convinced that they will appeal to all Moderate sections, and will give them a rallying cry.. In the meantime, and until the reforms are announced, we must rest content with proceeding against violent language, whenever and wherever it violates the law, by such a way that successful action is a moral certainty."

He, therefore, thought that it would be wise to indicate the general policy to the local Governments. After much cogitation, a Circular letter was issued on the 20th March advising the local Governments to check the extravagent expectations which had been indulged in by the Home Rule agitation and that they should:

"warn all men of light and lead and all those who have a hereditary influence over the people at large, to disassociate themselves from the Home Rule campaign as it is at present being conducted, and should enjoin upon them, confidence that the loyalty of Indians and sobriety of judgment on the part of leading men will not go unrewarded."

Meanwhile, the Bombay Government wrote to the Government of India about an immediate declaration of Government's policy regarding the Home Rule movement. Referring to the judgment of the Bombay High Court in the Tilak case, they observed, "the violence of the speeches and writings in connection with Home Rule and kindred movements have increased in volume. The Government of Bombay have been watching the developments of these movements with growing anxiety, and feel, that the time has now come, when it is necessary in the interest of the public security in India, that some

check should be put on the movement". While they regarded Mrs. Besant as an extremely dangerous element in the political world of India, and had excluded her from the Presidency of Bombay, they were concerned to learn that the Lt.-Governor of the United Provinces had actually sat with her on the Congress platform at Lucknow. They regarded Tilak also as a man whose political activities were fraught with public danger, and when their last attempt failed, they now felt that the time has come for some further measures against him. But they hesitated to act because of the recognition given to him by the presence of the Lt.-Governor of U. P. on the same platform at Lucknow. They felt that the absence of a definite declaration of policy made it difficult for the Bombay Government to take effective action against persons, who were fanning the flames. After receipt of this letter from Bombay, the matter was considered further and the Government of India finally decided not to proceed further in the matter pending the announcement of the political concessions which were being considered by the Secretary of State at the moment.

In the meantime, Austen Chamberlain, the Secretary of State, thought that the measures, proposed by the Government of India, were inadequate to meet the situation. No concessions, formally hedged in by limitations and reservations, could meet the situation. The only goal that could be declared would be "the development of free institutions with a view to ultimate Self-Government. If such a declaration is to be made, I think it should be accompanied by a very clear declaration that this is a distant goal....I think, too, that we should have to assert plainly that the rate of progress, and the

time and stages by which it is to be reached, must be controlled and decided by His Majesty's Government.... After all we must take into account all the changes produced by the War, and the constant emphasis laid upon the fact that the Allies are fighting for freedom and the nationality, and the revolution in Russia and the way it has been hailed throughout Europe and America and the effect of all these things on Indian opinion and on our own attitude to Indian questions. What would have seemed to be a great advance a little time ago would now satisfy no one and we must, I think, be prepared for bold and radical measures." Chamberlain further thought that some means would have to be found, not only of increasing Indian representation in the Councils, but of increasing the authority and the responsibility of the representatives in those bodies. It appeared that Chamberlain was much influenced by Lord Sinha in his views. He further proposed that a small Commission may be appointed to examine the proposed reforms, but this proposal was not much liked by the Viceroy. The Viceroy, in turn, proposed that pending final decision regarding the reform proposals, the Government of India may be authorised to issue a statement that the reforms would be of a very limited character, and that it was futile to expect revolutionary changes. Chamberlain, however, discouraged the issue of such an important policy statement before a firm decision was taken.

It was at this stage that Lord Pentland and Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Governor and the Lt.-Governor of Madras and the Punjab respectively, addressed their respective Legislatures, warning the people against the impossible demands of the Home Rule leaders. On the 25th May, in the course of his address to the Madras

Legislature, Lord Pentland said that the placing of the executive Government under the direct control of the legislatures was outside the range of politics, and that all thoughts of the early grant of responsible government should be put entirely out of minds and all violence of language should be condemned. He also threw a hint about action which the Government may be forced to take to discourage this unwise and dangerous methods of the extravagant aims of the Home Rulers.

The speeches of Pentland and O'Dwyer showed the direction in which the wind was blowing. The bureaucracy in India had resolved upon repression. The Provincial Governments had been advised, both in regard to writings in the Press and the activities of the leaders, to take such measures as, in their opinion, may be desirable. An internment order was served on Mrs. Besant and two of her colleagues on the 15th June, giving them a choice of six places to stay. Mrs. Besant chose Ootacamund and Coimbatore. Besant's internment gave rise to intense indignation amongst Moderates and Extremists alike. Suggestions were made for resorting to passive resistance, and the All-India Congress Committee, in its meeting of July 18, referred the matter to the Provincial Congress Committees. Tilak supported the idea of passive resistance, though he said that its practice required great self-restraint and discipline. There was general support for passive resistance, the Madras Provincial Congress Committee being the most advanced in this matter. Subramania Iyer wrote to President Wilson, protesting against Besant's internment and signed a pledge for passive resistance, followed by hundreds of others.

CHAPTER XVII

AN EPOCH CLOSES: 1917-1920

(i) *Montagu's Visit*: 1917

In the meantime, wheels were actively moving in London. Chamberlain had proposed to Chelmsford that a small Commission may be appointed to go into the question of reforms. Chelmsford suggested that Chamberlain should himself come to India for a review of the situation. Chamberlain thought that such a course might create awkwardness for the Government of India. It was at this time that there was a debate in Parliament on the bad handling of the situation in Messopotamia. Montagu made a fierce attack on the Government of India for the muddle there, and, during the course of the debate, he condemned the Indian Government as being 'far too wooden, far too iron, far too inelastic and far too ante-diluvian to subserve its purposes in modern times'. The debate resulted in Chamberlain's resignation and Montagu's appointment as Secretary of State for India. Montagu gave further thought to the matter of Indian reforms, and the policy, that he announced on the 20th August, was on the lines already thought of by his predecessor. His statement in Parliament, on that day, declared that the policy of the British Government was that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration, and "a gradual development, of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India, as an integral part of the British Empire and, that it

had been decided that substantial steps should be taken in this direction as soon as possible." The statement added that such progress could only be achieved by successive stages, to be decided by the British Government and the Government of India from time to time. He also announced the removal of the racial bar, which, till now, had excluded Indians from the King's Commissions in the Army, and announced his intention, to proceed to India, to consult the Viceroy, and give a hearing to all interests concerned. The A.I.C.C. in its next meeting on the 6th October decided to drop the idea of passive resistance, in view of Montagu's proposed visit. Mrs. Besant was released on the 17th of September and she seems to have then decided to support Montagu. Her internment had brought additional popularity to her, and she was elected as the President for the ensuing Session of the Congress at Calcutta.

Montagu arrived in India on the 10th of November, 1917, and, after completing his itinerary in India, left Simla for London *via* Bombay on the 23rd April, 1918. During the itinerary, he and Chelmsford moved together. Montagu had full discussions with the officials in the Government of India and in the Provinces. He received deputations from public representative bodies and had discussions with individual leaders. Tilak was one of those who welcomed him at Bombay, and, garlanded him on behalf of the Home Rule League. The delegation representing the Congress and the Muslim League saw Montagu on the 26th November at Delhi. Of that interview Montagu writes:[2]

2. Montagu: *An Indian Diary,* p. 56.

"We were face to face with the real giants of the Indian political world. We had not these dupes and adherents from the Provinces, but we had here, a collection of first-class politicians of the various Provinces. Old Surendranath Banerjea, the veteran from Bengal, read the address, which was beautifully written and beautifully read. There was Mudholkar from the Central Provinces, Jinnah from Bombay, Mazhar-ul-Huq and Hassan Imam from Bihar and Orissa, Gandhi, Mrs. Besant, Kesava Pillai, and so on. All the brains of the movement were there."

The Home Rule Delegation followed, of which, Montagu writes:[3]

"And then Mrs. Besant and the great Tilak came with their Home Rule League, and read us a more extreme and a bitter address, but one which was undoubtedly interesting and good."

Tilak interviewed Montagu separately on the 27th November in Delhi. Of this interview Montagu recorded his impression as follows:[4]

"Then, after lunch, we saw Tilak, the politician who probably has the greatest influence of any person in India, and who is very extreme. His procession to Delhi to see me was a veritable triumphant one. He was really the author of the Congress-League scheme, and although he did not impress me very much in argument, he is a scientific man of great erudition and training. It was quite obvious that he was not going to be satisfied with anything but what the Congress asks for. 'We shall take whatever the Government gives us,' he said, 'but it will not satisfy us, unless, it is at least what the Congress asks'."

3. Montagu: *An Indian Diary,* p. 56.
4. E. S. Montagu: *An Indian Diary,* p. 61.

Montagu, even before his arrival in India, was thinking on the lines of an increase of elected members in the Central Legislature and of partial devolution of responsibility in the Provinces, much on the same lines on which Chamberlain was thinking before. In his informal discussions, he gathered that the Moderates would generally support such a scheme, some of them desiring a time limit to be set for full responsible government. The Congress Session at Calcutta supported the earlier Congress-League scheme, and, at Tilak's instance, urged the fixing of a time-limit for the establishment of self-government.

(ii) *Mission to England*

After the Calcutta Congress, Tilak undertook a very strenuous tour in support of the Home Rule propaganda in C. P. and Berar. The tour commenced from Bombay, on the 4th February, 1918, and concluded on the 24th. Among other places, he visited Khamgaon, Murtizapur, Chanda, Wardha, Nagpur and numerous other places. Enormous crowds gathered at all meetings, and rich and poor vied with each other, in making contributions to the purse presented to him. Once, while he was crossing a river in a boat, a poor cobbler gave him Rs. 2/- as his contribution. About Rs. 1,50,000 were collected during the tour, for the work of the Home Rule Delegation. Tilak was forthright in all his speeches. Addressing a meeting at Wardha, he said:

"Under the present bureaucratic Government, Indians have lost all their prestige; an Indian is not allowed to sit with an European in a train. Indians are clearly regarded as cattle. We have every right to weed out the bureaucrats just as we weed out the grass, which grows in our houses. The fight is going on between the

people and the Government and we must send a Deputation to represent our case in England. How long will you suffer the wrongs done to you by the civil servants? ....We can tolerate the state of things no longer. The foreigner has entered into your house. He tells you to sit in the corner, orders you when you shall take your meals, and does not even allow you to control your children yourself. Do you call this justice? Why should we not chuck these bureaucrats out, as unworthy of holding the reins of Government."

In fact this was more in the nature of a triumphant rather than a propaganda tour. Repeatedly he gave the message, "Home Rule is my birth-right and I shall have it". Tilak had, at last, brought his message to the masses, who came to look upon him as their leader, as their Lokamanya, almost as their God who had come down to earth for their deliverence.

The Home Rule League had already decided to send a deputation to England. Tilak, Khaparde, Pal, and, Kelkar were amongst its members. Another delegation had already proceeded on behalf of Besant's Home Rule League, and Tilak started via Bombay for Colombo to take a steamer there for England. At Bombay he was given a right royal send-off. The Marwari community presented a purse of Rs. 15,000 to him. Mill-hands of forty mills gave him a reception, and presented him with a purse of Rs. 1,000, being a contribution of 16,000 labourers contributing one anna each. There was a conference of the Indian Home Rule League on the 26th, at which, 1,400 telegrams and 617 letters of hearty support were read. The membership of the Home Rule League had risen to 33,854.

Thus did Tilak start on his mission to England on behalf of the people of India. He started for Colombo,

on the 27th, and after reaching there, was heartily welcomed by the Indian residents there. Passports had been already issued to Tilak and his party, on condition that Tilak was not to make any speeches in England. All of a sudden, on the 4th April, the party was informed that their passports were cancelled. This new development has been thus described by Montagu.[5]

"The Tilak incident was very characteristic. Passports were issued to him and his friends, without reference to me. But in issuing them, it seems to me, that the Government were clearly right. Tilak had to go home to fight the Chirol case; and to stop his expedition at the time when the papers are full of Lord Sydenham's activities, would have been a fatal mistake. But, having allowed him to go home, either out of sheer malice or crass stupidity, the Home Department without reference to the Viceroy, sent home a telegram, containing so black a picture of Tilak's antecedents and probable activities, that I do not wonder the Home Government were nervous. It seems a little strange, however, that they should have cancelled a passport given by a duly authorised authority without consulting him. However, it was done. I drafted for the Viceroy a telegram of protest, which was ultimately sent, with a request for reconsideration. It has failed, the Home Government refuse to let him sail, mainly on the ground, that the General Staff will not have it."

The delegation, thus prevented from going to England, returned to Madras. The cancellation of passports gave rise to universal protests in all parts of India.

The War was now entering on a crucial phase. A War Conference was convened under the presidentship of the Viceroy, from which Tilak and Besant were

5. *An Indian Diary*, April 15th, pp. 345-346.

excluded. Montagu did not like this exclusion. He observed[6]:

"As I predicted, the exclusion of Tilak, who is, after all, the biggest leader in India at the moment, had a bad effect, and unanimity had been difficult. They had prohibited all controversial motions and resolutions. Why could not they let them have their say and attempt to get a real meeting? They could always have put up someone to answer any awkward question."

But, this the bureaucracy was not prepared to do. Khaparde, who was present at the Conference, was not permitted to bring forward the question of Self-government before the Conference. There were a few formal speeches and the Conference dispersed without any specific decisions. The A.I.C.C. met on the 3rd May, and, while condemning the exclusion of some leaders from the Delhi Conference, supported Khaparde's proposed resolution on Self-government There was a similar conference in Bombay on the 10th June to which Tilak had received an invitation. While speaking on War effort, Tilak said that the link between Swaraj and National Defence was indissoluble. The President, Lord Willingdon, immediately intervened and said that he would not permit any political discussion in the meeting. Tilak then walked out of the meeting followed by his colleagues. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report was published in June, 1918, and the principal proposals in that Report were a partial devolution of power in the Provinces on the basis of dyarchy, a majority of elected members in the Central Legislative Assembly and the creation of an additional Upper Chamber with an official majority. Commenting on the scheme, Tilak wrote an

6. *An Indian Diary,* May 7th, p. 381.

article in the *Kesari* under the caption, "Dawn has come;. but where is the Sun?".

Tilak continued his work. On June 22nd, Khadilkar delivered a lecture on 'Conscription' as part of the Shivaji festival. Tilak presided, and, in his speech, dealt with the question of enrolling in the army to assist Britain in the War. He compared Shivaji's army with the soldiers being recruited in India on a mercenary basis.

"Here, at this meeting," he said, "there are two thousand men, whose age is above 18 years. Could we not get one thousand from these? We say 'we give you men; what have you done to make them to fight for the Nation? What have you in your hearts about this nation?.' The bureaucracy has over-run the Nation; and we are not prepared to become soldiers in order to increase the power of these very men .... They always tell us of protection of Motherland—'the Motherland is tied up, her liberation is the first protection' (*cheers, laughter*) Take away, by means of *zoolum* those whom you want ..... If an army is wanted, you must put your hand into the life and soul of the nation. You do not do so. By this method of yours, the defence of the nation will not be effected .... If your eyes do not open even now, then it is our, your and India's misfortune. How can we help it? Such a time has arrived that, in this, not India alone will come to grief; perhaps the whole Empire will come to grief—(*laughter*). If proper means are not adopted at this time, if the fairly educated citizens of India are not made to feel that this country is theirs, then it is impossible to recruit this army."

The main burden of this speech was, that for effective recruitment, granting of political rights was an absolute necessity. Basing their action on this speech, the Governmert of Bombay served an order on Tilak,



HOME RULE DEPUTATION BEFORE THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE, LONDON, 1918
Babu B. C. Pal, Dr. P. J. Mehta, Lokamanya Tilak, Hon. Khaparde, Hon. Vithalbhai Pa
and Shri N. C. Kelkar.

directing him to desist from speaking in the public without previous permission, the only exception being any speech, limited to the subject of constitutional reforms, that he might deliver at the special session of the Indian National Congress. That Session was held under the Presidentship of Hassan Imam on the 29th August. The Congress reaffirmed the principles of the Reforms contained in the Congress-League scheme and declared, that nothing less than Self-government within the Empire would satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people. It asked for simultaneous advance in the provinces and the Government of India, characterised the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals as disappointing and unsatisfactory. It suggested substantial modifications in the scheme as put forward.

Permission in the meantime had been granted to Tilak to go to England with two companions, for prosecuting his action against Chirol. Tilak accordingly left on the 19th September, taking Dadasaheb Karandikar as his pleader, Vasudeo Rao Joshi as his friend, and Nam Joshi as his attendant. At Port Said, he learnt that he had been elected President of the ensuing Session of the Congress. Obviously the real purpose of this election was to strengthen his hands in England. The Annual Session of the Congress met in Delhi and declared that the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was unsatisfactory and disappointing, and demanded the establishment of full responsible government within fifteen years and reaffirmed the resolution on the subject regarding the Congress-League scheme. The Rowlatt Committee's Report was condemned and repeal of all repressive Acts was urged. This was the last session attended by the Moderates; they ultimately seceded from

it and later started an organisation of their own. The history of Surat repeated itself with a vengeance.

After reaching England, Tilak did not take to public activities until the decision of the Chirol case. In the latter part of 1919, the Delegations on behalf of the Home Rule League and the Congress came to London. Tilak was a member of both the Congress and the Home Rule Delegations. During the time that he was in England, Tilak established intimate contacts with the Labour Party; in fact it was the only party that kept its platform available for Tilak and his colleagues. He established close relations with leaders like Lansbury, Wedgewood, Ben Spoor, Hyndman, with whom Tilak was in touch for a long time previously.

One of the important matters, which engaged his attention in England, was the British Congress Committee and a newspaper '*India*', whose policies had become reactionary. In fact, the Committee gave its support to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and, as a consequence, the Congress stopped sending it any financial assistance. The British Committee wanted to keep a neutral attitude as between the Moderates and the Congress delegates. Ultimately, Tilak compelled the British Committee to fall in line with the Congress. The second important matter was giving evidence before the British Parliamentary Committee. The view-point of the Congress was placed forcefully before that Committee. In addition to this organisational work, Tilak addressed many public meetings, some of them under the auspices of the London Indian Association, Britain and India Association, the Fabian Society and the National Liberal Club. He visited various centres for addressing such

meetings. He visited also prominent educational centres like Oxford, Cambridge and Glasgow and called upon Indian students to dedicate themselves to national service. There were already some extremists among Indians then in England, who condemned outright the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals as embodied in the Bill before Parliament. But Tilak favoured a middle course, as between such extremists, and the Moderates who were all out for supporting the scheme wholesale. Lord Sydenham and his group were also busy working against Indian interests, but the efforts of the Congress and Home Rule Delegations counteracted successfully the evil effects of such reactionary efforts. Besant, on the whole stood for the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals, and thereafter she joined the ranks of the Moderates.

While in England, Tilak was in continuous touch with Lajpat Rai and Hardikar who were strenuously working for the cause of Home Rule in the United States. Tilak had been nominated to represent India at the Peace Conference, by the Delhi Session of the Congress, along with Gandhi and Hassan Imam. In that capacity, he submitted a petition to the Peace Conference then going on in Paris, as he was refused permission to go to Paris himself. In the course of his petition, he appealed to the Conference to look at the Indian question, both from the point of view of world peace, as also of the progress of the Indian people. If India was not given Independence, there was bound to be a competition between World Powers for capturing the Indian market. He urged that it was not possible for peace to be maintained in India unless she achieved self-government like the Colonies. There was no reason why the principle of Self-determination should not be

applied to India; the real obstruction came from vested interests. During the course of his stay in England, Tilak interviewed the Secretary of State and other officials many times on work. The Secretary of State was so much impressed by Tilak, that he exercised pressure on the Indian authorities to withdraw all bans imposed upon Tilak on his return to India.

(iii) *Advent of the Mahatma*: 1919

While Tilak was busy with his mission in England, Mahatma Gandhi was making history in India by his Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Bills. He had practised successfully *Satyagraha* against the iniquitous treatment of Indians in South Africa. After coming to India in January 1915, he undertook a tour of observation in the country according to Gokhale's advice. His was a new approach to the solution of the problems of life. He based all his activities on Truth and Non-violence and looked upon Constructive work as the basis of achieving the national objective. He started the *Satyagraha Ashram* in Ahmedabad, the members of which had to take a vow, which affirmed faith in Truth, Non-violence, celibacy, control of the palate, non-stealing and non-possession. He attached great importance to Swadeshi and propagation of Hindi as the national language in the work of nation-building. He had faith in the British Empire and devoted himself unreservedly to the work of collecting recruits for the Indian army. He supported the compromise resolution at the Provincial Conference at Belgaum (May 1, 1916). His first clash with Government was in Champaran (1917), where he went to make an inquiry into the sufferings of the workers on the indigo plantations and collected statements of 8000 peasants. He refused to abide by an externment

order served on him and ultimately Government themselves had to appoint a Commission of Inquiry. He supported the move for Civil Disobedience at the time of Besant's internment. He reiterated his faith in Swadeshi, Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of Untouchability and similar items of Constructive work as a true foundation of *Swaraj*, as President of the Gujerat Political Conference held at Godhra. He was a member of the Congress Delegation which interviewed Montagu. He interviewed Montagu also separately. Of him, Montagu wrote in his diary:

"Afterwards we saw the renowned Gandhi. He is a social reformer; he has a real desire to find grievances and to cure them, not for any reasons of self-advertisement, but to improve the conditions of his fellowmen. He is the real hero of the settlement of the Indian question in South Africa, where he suffered imprisonment. He has just been helping the Government to find a solution for the grievances of the indigo labour in Bihar. He dresses like a coolie, forebears all personal advancements, lives practically on the air and is a pure visionary."

He also had organised the peasants of Kaira, where, a bad season had driven the peasants to destitution, and at his instance, 2500 of them had refused to pay the land revenue. Government ultimately had to declare a substantial suspension of land revenue. He had supported the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and held that they were marked by a sincere purpose. For the first time in his career, he was dis-illusioned by the Rowlatt Committee's Report and the Bills which Government introduced in accordance with its recommendations. The Rowlatt Committee had been appointed by Government in December 1917, to investigate the nature and extent of the revolutionary movement, and to ad-

vise, as to the legislation necessary to deal effectively with the movement. The Bills introduced by Government provided, amongst other things, for detention of suspected persons and penalising possession of seditious documents. Gandhi proposed Satyagraha as a protest against the Bills, consisting of Civil Disobedience of the proposed measures, and of such other measures that may be chosen by a Committee. Accordingly, Gandhi and his colleagues commenced circulation of banned literature. The Bills became law in March, 1919, and, while Gandhi was considering what further programme to adopt, the idea came to him in a dream that they should call upon the country to observe a general *hartal*. A *hartal* and a fast was announced for April 6. The *hartal* was accordingly observed in many centres with success. Gandhi started for Delhi and Amritsar on April 7, but was arrested on the way, brought back and released in Bombay on April 11. There were disturbances in Ahmedabad and fire was opened on textile workers by the military. At Amritsar there was excitement after the arrest of Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal on April 10. Processions were fired at and the mob became infuriated and killed five or six Englishmen and burnt some bank buildings. On the 11th, the civil administration handed over charge of the city to General Dyer, who had taken command of the troops there. On the 12th, General Dyer opened continuous firing on a crowd that had collected in the Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar, more for pleasure, than for a meeting which had been announced. His men stopped firing only when the ammunition was exhausted. According to official estimate, 379 were killed and 200 wounded; but according to the popular estimate the casualties were far greater. Gandhi sus-

pended civil disobedience. Great indignation prevailed and the Government and the Congress ordered independent inquiries.

The New Reforms Act, which provided for an elected majority in the Central Legislative Assembly, the constitution of an Upper Chamber, with an official majority, as a checkmate on the Assembly, was placed on the Statute Book on December 24, and the King Emperor appealed to the Indian people for co-operation in working the Reforms. Tilak was then on his way to Amritsar and from the train he sent a telegram to the King, assuring "Responsive Co-operation" on behalf of the people of India.

(iv) *The Amritsar Congress and After*

The Amritsar Congress was the zenith point in Tilak's career and a turning point in the Nation's Swaraj was now acknowledged by Government as the country's ultimate destiny and the word was even used in the King Emperor's appeal. The cause of advanced nationalism was accepted by the country as a whole. Sturdy leadership had grown in all the provinces and the Nation's message had reached the masses. When he broke from the trodden path of the earlier leaders of the Congress, Tilak was all alone and now, apart from a handful of Moderates, the nation had adopted his programme as its own. Tilak's mission in life was fulfilled. The country had been welded into a Nation and Tilak had borne a lion's share in the struggle. In the process, he had completely spent his physical strength, and when Bhagwan Das last saw him in Benaras, "Tilak's eyes were looking tired, sad, half closed—as if desiring and shortly expecting the well earned rest from his long and

noble labours." But inspite of age, Tilak had lost nothing of his old indomitable spirit and he gave an able and vigorous lead to the Nation at the time of the Amritsar Congress.

The Congress at Amritsar met on the 27th December 1919 under the distinguished presidentship of Pandit Motilal Nehru. Malaviya and Gandhi favoured offering co-operation in working out the reforms. C. R. Das was for rejecting them. Tilak's attitude was one of *responsive* co-operation. Ultimately a compromise resolution was passed, declaring that the Reforms Act was inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing, and urging that early steps should be taken to establish full responsible government. The resolution also called upon the people, to so work the reforms, as to secure the earliest establishment of full responsible government, and tendered thanks to Montagu for his labours. A resolution was also passed condemning Military atrocities in the Punjab and Gujrat. Another recommended revival of the ancient industry of hand-spinning and weaving. The Congress also congratulated Sir Sankaran Nair on his resignation from the Viceroy's Executive Council, and demanded the recall of Lord Chelmsford, the removal of General Dyer from his command and for the removal of Sir Michael O'Dwyer from his membership of the Army Committee.

With a view to work the reforms in the spirit of the Congress Resolution, Tilak announced the formation of the Congress Democratic Party and a Manifesto that he issued on its behalf (April, 1920), shows the thoroughness with which he had visualised the solution of the great problems that confronted the Nation.

"The Congress Democratic Party", the Manifesto said, "as the name denotes, is a party animated by feelings of unswerving loyalty to the Congress and faith in Democracy. It believes in the potency of democratic doctrines, for the solution of Indian problems, and regards the extension of education and political franchise as two of its best weapons. It advocates the removal of all civil and secular or social disabilities based on caste or custom. It believes in religious toleration, the sacredness of one's religion to oneself and the right and duty of the State to protect it against aggression ....

"This party believes in the integration of Federation of India in the British Commonwealth for the advancement of the cause of humanity and of brotherhood of mankind, but demands autonomy for India and equal status as a Sister State with every partner in the British Commonwealth, including Great Britain. It insists upon equal citizenship for Indians throughout the Commonwealth, and effective retaliation, whenever it is denied. It welcomes the League of Nations, as an instrument for enforcing the peace of the world, the nationality of the States, the freedom of all nations and nationalities and for ending the exploitation of one country by another." The Manifesto further emphatically asserted the fitness of India for responsible Government, and claimed the exclusive right of fashioning the form of the Government and determining the most appropriate Constitution for India. It also proposed to have a new Bill introduced in Parliament, with the aid of the Labour Party and other sympathisers, and to achieve this object, it contemplated a resolute and energetic campaign in India and in the countries represented in the League of Nations. In this matter, the

Party's watch-word will be, 'Educate, Agitate and Organise.' The Party proposed to work the Montagu Reforms Act for accelerating the grant of full Responsible Government and for this purpose, it was stated, that 'it will without hesitation offer co-operation or resort to constitutional opposition whichever may be expedient and best calculated to give effect to the popular will.'

Apart from these principles the Party platform was declared to contain the following planks: (1) Repeal of all repressive legislation. (2) Securing for the labouring classes, agricultural and industrial, a fair share of the fruits of labour, a minimum wage, relations between capital and labour on equitable basis and promoting organisations suitable for the purpose. (3) Control of the export of foodstuffs and other necessities of life, with a view to reducing prices and conserve supplies thereof. (4) Promotion of Swadeshism and development of industries, by recognised methods, including State subsidies and protective tariffs. (5) Nationalisation of Railways and regulation of railway tariffs with a view to assist industrial development. (6) Retrenchment especially in military expenditure and graduated taxation with a view to equitable distribution thereof. (7) Creation of a Citizens' Army. (8) Recruitment of services by competitive examinations. (9) Promotion of national unity by such means as the establishment of lingua franca for all India and betterment of intercommunal relations. (10) Readjustment of provinces on Linguistic basis.

These were all questions principally for the Central Government, and a programme for the Provinces included Education through the mother tongue, free and

compulsory education without distinction of sexes, enlarging the powers of village Panchayats, abolition of drink, and extension of franchise without distinction of sex.

While Tilak was thus busy with his election programme, other significant developments were taking place in the country. An Armistice was signed between the Allied Powers and Germany, in November 1919, under the terms of which, the Sultan of Turkey was deprived of Thrace, which was given to Greece, and Asiatic portions of the Turkish Empire were divided between the Great Britain and France, under the guise of mandates. The Muslims considered these proposals, curtailing temporal powers of the Caliph, who was the Sultan of Turkey, as being against their religion. The Muslims went in deputation to the Viceroy, under the leadership of Maulana Mahomed Ali, but with little result. There was a meeting of Hindu and Muslim leaders in Delhi (January 18, 1920). It was there that 'Non-co-operation' was conceived and Gandhi placed before the meeting a detailed programme. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was a prominent participant in those discussions. Tilak also was present, but he had to leave the meeting before it closed, to fulfil an important engagement. Before he left the meeting, however, he was pressed to remain by others; but he quietly said: "Whatever may be your decision, you may take it that I agree with it for I am ready to go much further than your programme."[7]

7. M. Asaf Ali in *Reminiscences of Lok. Tilak* (English), Vol. III, p. 142, edited by S. V. Bapat.

The third Khilafat Conference met at Bombay in February and declared that any reduction of the claims of the Muslims would not only be the violation of the deepest religious feelings of the Muslims, but also a flagrant violation of the solemn declarations and pledges made and given by responsible statesmen.

A Muslim deputation from India under the leadership of Maulana Mahomed Ali waited on Llyod George in England on 17th March, who gave an emphatic reply, that while Turkey was to be allowed to exercise temporal sway over Turkish lands, she was not to be permitted to retain those lands which were not Turkish. 19th March was observed as a day of National mourning. Gandhiji declared that he would lead the movement of Non-co-operation, if the terms of peace with Turkey do not meet the sentiments of the Muslims of India. A call was made for relinquishment of offices of honour or emolument. Hakim Ajmal Khan renounced his titles and his medals awarded at the Coronation Durbar. At this psychological moment, the Congress Report on the Punjab atrocities was published on March 25, giving rise to great indignation at the atrocities revealed in the Report. The proposed terms of the Peace Treaty were published on the 14th May, which conformed to the original terms of the Armistice. On the 28th May, the Khilafat Committee met in Bombay, and adopted Gandhiji's Non-co-operation programme. The Report of the Hunter Committee, which was appointed by the Government to enquire into the disturbances in the Punjab, was also published on the 28th. The English Members of the Committee held that the outbreak in the Punjab was premeditated; the Indians held the opposite view and they thought that Martial

Law was not called for. Government accepted the Committee's view that "the administration of Martial Law was marred, in particular instances, by misuse of power, by irregularity and by injudicious acts, that General Dyer acted beyond what any reasonable man could have thought it to be necessary, and that he did not act with such humanity as the occasion permitted." Government also strongly disapproved of certain specified instances of undue severity and improper punishments, and directed that this disapproval should be marked by censure or other action. The finding of the Hunter Committee and the Government's decision thereon added to the intense indignation prevailing in the country.

The All-India Congress Committee met in Benares on the 30th May and resolved to hold a special session of the Congress in Calcutta to consider Gandhiji's programme of Non-co-operation. Tilak was present at the meeting and fully supported the Khilafat resolution. Dr. Ansari, who was also there, urged him to go to Allahabad, where a Hindu-Muslim Conference was being held in the first week of June. "On being pressed to go to Allahabad, he said, that he was ready to render greater assistance and even greater sacrifice in the cause of Khilafat than those who contemplated it, and that, therefore, the Mussalmans could always count on his support in the course of the mild campaign, which they were going to start under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. He was afraid that his presence at the Allahabad meeting might prove a hindrance rather than help to the Muslims."[8] Tilak also told Dr. Choitram Gid-

8. Dr. M. A. Ansari in *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Lok. Tilak*, (English), edited by S. V. Bapat, p. 115.

wani at Benares[9] that "he had no objection to his advising Hindus to join the movement, provided Muhammedans are sincerely bent upon non-co-operating with Government. He was himself prepared to go to jail again inspite of old age, but he wanted others to follow him". Gandhi met him along with Shaukat Ali at Sardargraha in Bombay. He writes about this conversation:[10] "About Hindus and Muslims, he said, turning to the Maulana, 'I will sign anything that Gandhi suggests, because I have full faith in him on the question'. About Non-co-operation, he significantly repeated to me what he had said to me before, 'I like the programme well enough, but I have my doubts as to the country being with us under the self-denying ordinance which Non-co-operation presents to the people. I will do nothing to hinder the progress of the movement. I wish you every success, and if you gain the popular ear, you will find in me an enthusiastic supporter." Tilak told Besant that, 'he wished for responsive co-operation but he thought that Gandhiji wielded power that might serve India, and he would not therefore break with him.'[11]

The Hindu-Muslim Conference, which met at Allahabad, on June 1, dispersed without coming to any definite conclusions. The Khilafat Committee meeting, on June 9, reaffirmed the principle of Non-co-operation and appointed a Committee to lay down a detailed programme. It was also decided to start the movement

9. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

10. M. K. Gandhi in *Reminiscences of Lok. Tilak*, (Marathi), edited by S. V. Bapat, Vol. I, p. 514.

11. Preface by Annie Besant to S. V. Bapat's *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Lokamanya Tilak*, (English).

under Gandhiji's guidance, after giving a month's notice to the Viceroy. Gandhi addressed an appeal to the Viceroy, on June 22, to concede the religious demands of the Muslims and explained how he himself decided to join the Non-co-operation movement. On July 7, the Non-co-operation Movement Committee gave instructions about the programme consisting of the surrender of honorary titles and posts, boycott of schools and colleges, and of courts and councils, as from the 1st of August.

At the time that the programme of Non-co-operation was thus being evolved, Tilak was busy, as usual, with his work. Tilak undertook a lightning tour through Sindh from the 26th to the 30th March, visiting Hyderabad, Sukkur and other places. Hindus and Muslims joined together in giving him a right royal welcome. He then straight went to Belgaum to attend the Bombay Provincial Conference at Sholapur, where a resolution was passed supporting the candidature only of such candidates as accepted by the Amritsar Resolution. Besant, who was also present, moved an amendment that the electorate should support any good candidate generally agreeing with the policy of the Congress, irrespective of what party he belonged to. The amendment was supported by R. P. Paranjpye, the Moderate leader, but was rejected by a large majority. Tilak attended the Poona District Conference at Junnar in March. He also attended the Belgaum District Conference on the 5th.

A formal ceremony of presenting the Tilak Purse Fund of about Rs. 3 lakhs, collected for the Chirol case, took place on the 22nd May, at his residence. Next day, the Home Rule League had its fourth Annual Session.

Tilak explained to the meeting the precise nature of work in the Councils and urged the necessity of sending in only tried men. He had not agreed to a suggestion that he himself should contest the elections; "I would beg of you," he said, "to let me decide for myself, whether or not, I should take upon myself, a new responsibility, when all my powers are getting weaker and weaker due to old age."

(v) *The Last Journey*: August 1, 1920

Tilak was conscious of the fact that his health was breaking up. In the early part of the year, he said to one of his visitors, who discussed with him Astrology, among other things:

"Ajgaonkar, I am now a short-time companion. My astrologer friends have told me from my horoscope that this year is bad for me. I have not much faith in astrology, but, I have begun to feel myself that I will not live for long. Medical treatment continues, but it is not of much use. My powers are getting weaker. I am not able to absorb much food. Some people do not believe in the fact that former Yogis and saints used to foretell their exact date of death. But, I do not think that it is impossible. It is possible for one, who keeps a close watch upon his body movements, to foretell exactly the time of one's death. From my own experience, I tell you I will not live for long, now." Ajgaonkar protested. The Lokamanya smiled, and said,

"Well, what is there to be sorry about? I am not at all afraid of death. My companions, Agarkar, Gokhale, Chiplunkar and others have left; it is really much, that I have lived till now, inspite of various physical and mental sufferings. I have been always a little hard and that is why I have lived these years."

When Tilak thus said that his body was wearing out, he was speaking but the obvious. But he was at

his work continuously all the time. During July he was busy with the last act in the Tai Maharaj case. The adoption of Jagannath Maharaj was upheld in appeal by the Privy Council. But the Government of Kolhapur obstructed Jagannath from taking possession of his property in Kolhapur, on the ground, that, that property in Kolhapur was a gift by the Kolhapur Durbar, and Tilak was busy for a fortnight, drafting the written statement to the points made by the State of Kolhapur, in its application to the High Court. Tilak caught malaria during this period. He went to Bombay on the 12th July as the matter was coming up before the High Court on the 14th. The application was rejected on the 21st, and the last obstacle in the way of the adopted son was thus removed. It gave a peculiar satisfaction to Tilak, that the cause that he had undertaken on behalf of his deceased friend, was thus at long last fully justified.

On the 20th, Diwan Chaman Lal came to see him and he took him on a drive in his car. He developed high fever that night. It was treated as malaria till the 26th, but symptoms of pneumonia were evident on that day. The right lung was first affected. He developed hiccup which was a great strain on his heart. The temperature rose up to 104° during these days. He was partly unconscious from the 27th and could recognise people only whenever he regained consciousness. In the earlier days he had chaffed his son upon having run up to Bombay on the flimsy pretence of his illness and his daughters on being too much fond of their parents.

"I am not going to die during these five years, be sure of that," he had then said. Even in delirium, he

thought of his country, and the last words reported to have been uttered by him on July 28th at 1 p.m were, "Unless Swaraj is achieved, India shall not prosper. It is required for our existence." When the *Gita* was shown to him, he muttered the famous verses about God's descent on the earth "for the uplift of righteousness and the annihilation of unrighteousness". In the meantime, his friends, relatives and admirers had gathered in Bombay by the thousands. At last, at 10-30 on the night of Saturday, the 31st July, his heart began to sink, and at 12-40 the doctors declared that he was no more.

The body was lying in state on the front side of the first floor of the Sardar Graha till the afternoon of the 1st August. The whole of the city went on mourning, and hundreds of thousands of people crowded to have the last *darshan*. The huge concourse accompanied the last procession of its beloved Lokamanya, this time to his final destination. Gandhiji, Shaukat Ali, Jawaharlal Ji, Khaparde, Tilak's life-long friend, Kelkar and Khadilkar, his trusted colleagues, and numerous other leaders, paid their last homage. It was drizzling and raining, the whole day, and the procession wended its slow and sad way to the sands of Chowpatty where the earthly remains of the Lokamanya were placed on a pyre of sandal wood. As the leaping flames were consuming his mortal remains, people sobbed and cried.

The drizzle continued. A Christian lad of tender years was heard whispering to his mother, "Ma! Even God is weeping for Tilak!"

Appendix

APPRECIATIONS OF TILAK

(i) *Maulana Mahomed Ali*

(Maulana Mahomed Ali addressed this letter to Lokamanya Tilak, on 12-11-1916, from Chhindwara Jail where he was detained. The letter was intercepted by Government at the time and it is published here for the first time.)

"I think I am at liberty, even as a political detenue, to congratulate you on so single a vindication of yourself and your recent speeches. Nevertheless, I refrain, and I do so, because, after all, our characters can best be vindicated by ourselves and our people, when we stand at the bar of our conscience and of public opinion. There is yet a higher, and, not only comparatively more infalliable tribunal, but absolutely so.

"Now, the offer of congratulations on any escape from further prosecution, would, in any case be a futility and impertinence to one, who has even in his old age willingly and cheerfully gone through so much pain and suffering, as you have, in the cause of what you held to be the truth and justice without betraying the slightest consideration of consequences, when duty dictated action and who has borne with a cool temper the smiles and frowns of fortune.

"I must confess I had long been a prey to grave misgivings about the catholicity of your political and social ideals and the extent of the connotation of your

patriotism. I confess this all the more readily to-day, because, long before to-day, I learnt to regret these misgivings and have already offered my apologies to you in the spirit if not in the flesh. It may perhaps interest you to know, that, what brushed these doubts and misgivings aside like so many cobwebs, was your daring and the determination that you have shown in sustaining your self-respect. This may not sound as praise of your altruism; but, to my mind, in the long run, it is as safe a test as any. He, who would not, for the world, jeopardise his own self-respect, would not also, if he is a thinking man, permit the self-respect of the humblest of God's creatures to be placed in jeopardy, howsoever insistent may be the claims of self-aggrandisement or the aggrandisement of his own caste, sect, community or nation. He alone is not a slave who adhors slavery in equal degree for the meanest of his fellow-beings. Your courage, resolution and fortitude are an example to us, younger men, whatever be our politics; and these have convinced me, that, after going through all this, you could never contemplate with equanimity, much less desire, that even a particle of the same suffering should be inflicted on a fellow-countryman, no matter of what caste or creed, equally earnest in the defence of his freedom and self-respect."[1]

(ii) *Shri Aurobindo Ghose*

(The following extracts are from An Appreciation by Shri Aurobindo published as Introduction to Bal Gangadhar Tilak, His Speeches and Writings, published by Ganesan & Co., Madras, during Tilak's lifetime.)

1. *Confidential Proceedings* of the Government of India, 1911, Political, No. 53.

"The qualities which have supported him and given him his hard-earned success, have been comparatively rare in Indian politics. The first is his entirely representative character as a born leader for the sub-nation to which he belongs. India is a unity full of diversities and its strength, as well as its weakness, is rooted in those diversities: the vigour of its national life can exist only by the vigour of its regional life. Therefore in politics, as in everything else, a leader, to have a firm basis for his life-work, must build it upon a living work and influence in his own sub-race or province. No man was more fitted to do this than Mr. Tilak. He is the very type and incarnation of the Maratha character, the Maratha qualities, the Maratha spirit, but with the unified solidity in the character, the touch of genius in the qualities, the vital force in the spirit, which make a great personality readily the representative man of his people. The Maratha race, as their soil and their history have made them, are a rugged, strong and sturdy people, democratic in their every fibre, keenly intelligent and practical to the very marrow, following in ideas, even in poetry, philosophy and religion, the drive towards life and action, capable of great fervour, feeling and enthusiasm, like all Indian people, but not emotional idealists, having in their thought and speech always a turn for strength, sense, accuracy, lucidity and vigour, in learning and scholarship patient, industrious, careful, thorough and penetrating, in life simple, hardy and frugal, in their temperament courageous, pugnacious, full of spirit, yet with a tact in dealing with hard facts and circumventing obstacles, shrewd yet aggressive diplomatists, born politicians, born fighters. All this Mr. Tilak is with a singular and eminent completeness, and all on

a large scale, adding to it all, a lucid simplicity of genius, a secret intensity, an inner strength of will, a single-mindedness in aim of quite extraordinary force, which remind one of the brightness, sharpness and perfect temper of a fine sword hidden in a sober scabbard. As he emerged on the political field, his people saw more and more clearly in him their representative man, themselves in large, the genius of their type. They felt him to be of one spirit and make with the great men who had made their past history, almost believed him to be a reincarnation of one of them, returned to carry out his old work in a new form and under new conditions. They beheld in him the spirit of Maharashtra once again embodied in a great individual. He occupies a position in his province which has no parallel in the rest of India. . . . .

* * * *

"Moreover, though he has ideals he is not an idealist by character. Once the ideal fixed, all the rest is for him practical work, the facing of hard facts, though also the overcoming of them when they stand in the way of the goal, the use of strong and effective means with the utmost care and prudence consistent with the primary need of as rapid an effectivity as will and earnest action can bring about. Though he can be obstinate and iron-willed when his mind is made up as to the necessity of a course of action or the indispensable recognition of a principle, he is always ready for a compromise which will allow of getting real work done, and will take willingly half a loaf rather than no bread, though always with a full intention of getting the whole loaf in good time. But he will not accept chaff or plaster in place of good bread. Nor does he like to

go too far ahead of possibilities, and indeed has often shown in this respect a caution highly disconcerting to the more impatient of his followers. But neither would he mistake, like the born Moderate, the minimum effort and the minimum immediate aim, for the utmost possibility of the moment. Such a man is no natural revolutionist, but a constitutionalist by temper, though always in such times necessarily the leader of an advanced party or section. A clear constitution he can use, amend and enlarge, would have suited him much better than to break existing institutions and get a clear field for innovations which is the natural delight of the revolutionary temperament. ......

* * * *

"Two facts of his life and character have to be insisted on as special importance to the country, because they give a great example of two things in which its political life was long deficient and is even now not sufficient. First, the inflexible will of the patriot and man of sincere heart and thorough action which has been the very grain of his character; for aspirations, emotion, enthusiasm are nothing without this; Will alone creates and prevails. And Wish and Will are not the same thing, but divided by a great gulf; the one, which is all most of us get to, is a puny, tepid and inefficient thing, and, even when most enthusiastic, easily discouraged and turned from its object; the other can be a giant to accomplish and endure. Secondly, the readiness to sacrifice and face suffering, but with a firm courage when it comes, to bear it and to outlive, returning to work with one's scars as if nothing had happened. No prominent man in India has suffered more for

his country; none has taken his sacrifices and sufferings more quietly and as a matter of course ......

* * * *

"Mr. Tilak's name stands already for history and a nation-builder, one of the half-dozen greatest political personalities, memorable figures, representative men of the nation in this most critical period of India's destinies, a name to be remembered gratefully so long as the country has pride in its past and hope for its future."

(iii) *Mahatma Gandhi*

(Gandhiji wrote the following obituary article, in the *Young India*, August, 4, 1920).

LOKAMANYA

Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak is no more. It is difficult to believe of him as dead. He was so much part of the people. No man of our times had the hold on the masses that Mr. Tilak had. The devotion that he commanded from thousands of his countrymen was extraordinary. He was unquestionably the idol of his people. His word was law among thousands. A giant among men has fallen. The voice of the lion is hushed.

What was the reason for his hold upon his countrymen? I think the answer is simple. His patriotism was a passion with him. He knew no religion but love of his country. He was a born democrat. He believed in the rule of majority with an intensity that fairly frightened me. But that gave him his hold. He had an iron Will which he used for his country. His life was an open book. His tastes were simple. His private life

was spotlessly clean. He had dedicated his wonderful talents to his country. No man preached the gospel of the Swaraj with the consistency and the insistence of Lokamanya. His countrymen therefore implicitly believed in him. His courage never failed him. His optimism was irrepressible. He had hoped to see Swaraj fully established during his lifetime. If he failed, it was not his fault. He certainly brought it nearer by many a year. It is for us, who remain behind, to put forth redoubled effort to make it a reality in the shortest possible time.

Lokamanya was an implacable foe of the Bureaucracy, but this is not to say that he was a hater of Englishmen or English rule. I warn Englishmen against making the mistake of thinking that he was their enemy.

I had the privilege of listening to an impromptu, learned discourse by him, at the time of the last Calcutta Congress on Hindi being the national language. He had just returned from the Congress pandal. It was a treat to listen to his calm discourse on Hindi. In the course of his address, he paid a glowing tribute to the English for their care of the Vernaculars. His English visit, inspite of his sad experience of English Juries, made him a staunch believer in British Democracy, and he even seriously made the amazing suggestion that India should instruct it on the Punjab through the cinematograph. I relate this incident not because I share his belief, (for I do not), but in order to show that he entertained no hatred for Englishmen. But he could not and would not put up with an inferior status of India and the Empire. He wanted immediate equality

which he believed was his country's birthright. And, in his struggle for India's freedom, he did not spare the Government. In the battle for freedom he gave no quarter and asked for none. I hope that Englishmen will recognise the worth of the man whom India has adored.

For us, he will go down to the generations yet unborn as maker of Modern India. They will revere his memory as of a man who lived for them and died for them. It is blasphemy to talk of such a man as dead. The permanent essence of him abides with us for ever. Let us erect for the only Lokamanya of India an imperishable monument by weaving into our own lives, his bravery, his simplicity, his wonderful industry and his love of his country. May God grant his soul peace.

(iv) *Dr. Rabindranath Tagore*[2]

"The incident which brought me in personal touch with Lokamanya Tilak, I have mentioned elsewhere. It was when he surprised me with a request, through a messenger, that I should proceed to Europe, with the help of Rs. 50,000/-, which he was ready to offer me. My surprise was still greater, when I was assured, that Tilak did not want my help for any propaganda which was his own, that he would be sorry if I followed the path which he himself was pursuing, at that moment, for the benefit of his country. He wanted me to be true to myself and, through my effort to serve humanity, in my own way to serve India. I felt that the proposal from Tilak carried with it the highest honour that I had

2. S. V. Bapat's *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Lok. Tilak*, (Marathi), Vol. II, p. 608.

ever received from my countrymen. I do not know if I was worthy of it, but it revealed to me the greatness of Tilak's personality which deeply impressed my mind. He had more faith in Truth than in method. His ideal of the fulfilment of India's destiny was vast, and therefore it had ample room even for a dreamer of dreams, even for a "music-maker". He knew that freedom had its diverse aspects, and therefore it could be truly reached, if individuals had their full scope to use their special gifts for opening out paths that were diverse in their directions."

(v) *Dr. Annie Besant*

(Dr. Besant wrote the following as a foreword to S. V. Bapat's *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Lokamanya Tilak*).

The honour is given to me to write these few lines to Mr. Bapat's most timely and useful work, the reminiscences by friends of that splendid servant of India, Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Let me write of him as I knew him.

He was a man filled with passionate and never-weakening love for India, for whom every sacrifice for her was joy, every suffering was welcome. No physical bondage could bind that free spirit. His clarion call still rings through India. "Freedom is my birthright and I will have it."

In my own relations with him, I found him absolutely straight and loyal to his word. When we joined hands, I told him I could join in no secret conspiracy, nor would I consent to throw boys and young men into

any danger which we did not share. I did not seek to dictate his conduct to him, but I did claim similar freedom for myself and I would not risk the lads. He promised he would tell me, if he determined to use them, and he worked with me on that basis, straight to the end.

We differed on the N.C.O. movement. As he said, he worked for Responsive Co-operation, but he thought that Gandhiji wielded power that might serve India, and he would not therefore break with him. Unhappily he soon passed away leaving India bereft of his statesman's brain as well as his lion heart. Other brave hearts we have, but few brains like his.

To me Tilak is not lost. He is with us, working with us from the other side. And I lay at his feet this poor tribute of admiration, respect and affection. We both love India; we both try to serve her. He is awaiting her freedom and working for it. So am I. He is still our comrade in the great struggle. And he will share the joy when the Motherland is free.

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INDEX

(Figures indicate pages)